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# ***JPRS Report***

## **China**

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***QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]***  
***No 16, 16 August 1990***

# China

## QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

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## On Investigating and Studying Problems

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in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 90 pp 2-7

[Article by Chen Junsheng (7115 0193 3932)]

[Text] At present, there is a gratifying tendency across the state for cadres at various levels go to the grassroots in great numbers. To let cadres go to the grassroots for investigation and research work is an important task. How does one understand such investigation and research work, and how can he do well in his work of investigation and research? Let me talk about my personal understanding and experience.

### I. The Work of Investigation and Research and the Mass Line

The mass viewpoint is the basic viewpoint of Marxism, and the mass line is the basic line of work of our party. To always have faith in and rely on the masses are the basic characteristics, as well as the fine work style, of a communist. It was pointed out in the "Decision on Strengthening the Relations Between the Party and the Masses," adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, that "the masses are the source of power for our party and the basis for victory. Whether or not we can always maintain flesh-and-blood ties to the masses directly determines the destiny of the party and the state." "Cadres at all levels must always go down to the grassroots and to the masses to do their work in a down-to-earth manner and to carry out the party's line, principles, and policies down to every level."

Facts have shown that only when one really implements the party's mass line, can he really perform the leadership in a correct manner. For this reason, he must go to the masses and always, repeatedly conduct the work of investigation and research. In his article entitled "Several Questions on the Art of Leadership," Comrade Mao Zedong said in order to form correct opinions on leadership, we must collect opinions from the masses and adhere to them within the masses, and this should be a basic way to lead. How do we collect from the masses and take the collection back to the masses? The key to this issue is to do well in the work of investigation and research. One should pool opinions of the masses that vary widely and that are unorganized, and, upon research, turn such opinions into centralized and organized ones before returning to the masses to carry out propaganda and interpretation. This thus turns the opinions into opinions of the masses, makes the masses uphold such viewpoints, and makes them put them into practice to see whether such opinions can stand against practical tests. Later, such opinions are further pooled together and are brought back to the masses for upholding the implementation of the opinions. By repeating this cycle endlessly, the results become more correct and lively and have richer content.

Comrade Mao Zedong also said that there were two basic tasks for leading organs: First, they should understand

the situation; and second, they should keep abreast of policies. While the former refers to the so-called understanding of the world, the latter refers to the so-called transformation of the world. The work of investigation and research involves the way in which one understands and transforms the world. Our purpose of going to the masses is to understand the actual situation through the work of investigation and research, so as to find the important base on which we formulate policies and guiding work. This is the most fundamental aspect of the work. Of course, we should, whenever possible, help the masses solve some practical problems. Some held that one could do the work of investigation and research or could maintain his ties to the masses simply by taking a short trip to the masses. This is an incomplete understanding. It is, of course, necessary for one to go to the masses. However, one must have a clear understanding of what he should do there. If he goes to the masses without making any preparation, and completes his work without achieving anything, he simply does nothing but bring trouble to the masses. This is not only a fruitless effort but also a harmful one.

The work of investigation and research is inseparable from the mass line. In upholding the party's mass line, we must carry out the work of investigation and research in an in-depth manner. When it is completed, our personal understanding will conform to objective reality, thereby helping us in the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies; and we will maintain a closer ties to the masses and make fewer mistakes in our work.

Cadres at all levels without exception must attach great importance to the work of investigation and research. Furthermore, the efforts in investigation and research by decisionmakers are more important. This is because whether their decisions are correct is very important to the overall situation. Some of the decisions may have great importance for the overall situation of a particular industry or trade or that of a particular prefecture or county. Some may have great importance for the overall situation of a particular region, a province, or even the whole country. Therefore, in order to carry out the decision of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, and to strengthen the ties between the party and the masses, we must first emphasize the approach that the leaders should go to the masses to carry out the work of investigation and research. This is the key to maintaining ties to the masses. Some cadres who assume a senior post arbitrarily express their opinions and give "guidance" without going to the grassroots or the masses, or, even if they do, they do it without conducting any investigation or research. We must put an end to such tendencies.

### II. The Work of Investigation and Research and the Principle of the Party Spirit

The relations mentioned here, which are between the work of investigation and research on the one side and party spirit on the other, refer mainly to the inherent ties

between the dialectical materialist world outlook and the work of investigation and research. A work style or method that was adopted long ago by our party in the work of investigation and research is to proceed from the basic viewpoint of dialectical materialism. It is a practical manifestation of party spirit. According to the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, one is required to achieve concrete historical conformity between his subjective viewpoint and the objective one, between theory and practice, and between knowledge and action. A basic method for meeting such requirements is to conduct investigation and research.

Our party's experience has indicated that the tendency to conduct investigation and research was very popular when dialectical materialism occupied a dominant position in our party's leading organs, so that the party was united and made progress. On the other hand, the tendency to conduct investigation and research declined when subjectivism occupied a dominant position in our leading organs, so that the work of our party made errors and mistakes, and it even developed the danger of splitting and abolishing the party. The reason that the party's undertakings flourished and bloomed during the Yanan era, in the early 1950's, and following the Third Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee is because those were the times when it was popular in the party to conduct investigation and research. Though there were many causes contributing to several major errors and mistakes made by our party after the founding of the state, one of the most important causes was that subjectivism occupied a dominant position in the party's leading organs or in the thinking of certain people.

It was pointed out in the Eighth CPC Congress that the "experience of our party has fully indicated that, ideologically, to overcome subjectivism in our thinking is the fundamental key to safeguarding smooth progress in the party's work and avoiding major mistakes." It also pointed out that "there are still many shortcomings in our work. The most basic aspect of such shortcomings is that the thinking and work of many party cadres are still influenced by subjectivism." However, nobody attached great importance to this correct summary of the party's experience. During the three years of the Great Leap Forward, subjective thinking such as "the bolder a person is, the more output will his land yield," "launching satellites," and so on, emerged everywhere, which emphasized neither materialism nor careful and systematic investigation and research work, so we made serious mistakes. Drawing a lesson from this experience, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed materialism, respected dialectics, and once again guided people's thinking onto the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. In particular, a work meeting held at Guangzhou in 1961 acted according to a proposal made by Comrade Mao Zedong, and led the central authorities to send letters to party committees in all provinces, cities, and autonomous regions on recommending the work of conducting investigation and research. At the same time, the central authorities reprinted a booklet entitled *Opposing Bookishness*, written by Comrade Mao Zedong. Therefore, the

tendency to conducting investigation and research became popular again. Since the measures adopted at that time conformed to reality, the national economy was promptly readjusted. Later, however, there was a flood of ultra-"left" thinking, and the party spirit, party style, and party discipline were seriously undermined because Comrade Mao Zedong made an erroneous judgment on China's class struggle. Thinking of subjectivism, metaphysics, and acts of making false statements, telling lies, and indulging in empty talks were so popular that there were a large number of frameups, false charges, and wrong sentences. It was a very profound lesson for us.

We fundamentally put an end to the situation after cracking down on the gang of four. Nevertheless, at the time, we noticed only the high-spirited masses and a rapid restoration of production, and underestimated the harmfulness and hidden danger of the "leftist" guiding ideology of the past. Therefore, we worked out a grand plan, attempted to accomplish some 100 large-scale projects, and imported over 20 "mammoth" ones. Consequently, already existing disproportions intensified, and the deficit rose sharply. Also, the amount of currency in circulation exceeded normal levels. This was because we were inexperienced in this respect; and, more important, we did not conduct investigation and research work on the national situation, so that the thinking of certain people was influenced by subjectivism.

After a discussion of the criteria for determining truth, and after the party sought truth from facts, linked theory to practice, and judged everything by proceeding from reality after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the tendency to conduct investigation and research was restored and carried forward. A series of party lines, principles, and policies were worked out after a great deal of investigation and research. To date, both the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have decided to promote honesty in their organizations, to do practical work for the masses, and so forth. This is one of the significant indicators that the spirit of our party has been changed for the better. It is also a significant manifestation that the spirit of our party has been strengthened.

Nevertheless, we should also realize that there are still some comrades who neither attach great importance to the work of investigation and research nor take such work as a significant indicator for upholding the proletarian party spirit. Some of them always neglect the work of investigation and research and are used to simply sitting in their offices to give instructions and orders, or to exercise leadership in a general manner. Some often make excuses to prove that they have reasons to neglect investigation and research. For instance:

1. They hold that their decisions are always correct, and they may give guidance without conducting any investigation. Of course, not all of them speak the same language. They are, in fact, influenced by this thinking.



2. They hold that, after they have been in a particular area or unit for a long time, they understand almost everything in that area or unit, so they should be able to handle the situation for a while even without conducting any investigation.

3. They feel that after having engaged in a certain trade for several years, they have become "professionals," and can handle everything without any investigation.

4. They hold that they are too busy to spare any time for investigation.

5. They feel that life at the grassroots is too harsh for them, and that to take a simple trip to the lower level would be enough, so that it is not necessary for them to conduct any in-depth investigation.

6. They hold that the work of investigation and research is a responsibility of leading organs at the upper level, and that their investigation results will be ignored since they are not part of the senior decisionmaking bodies.

7. They hold that it is enough to simply transmit and make copies of documents as instructed by the upper level, no matter whether or not they have conducted any investigation.

8. They hold that there are too many problems for them to solve and that the work of investigation wastes both their time and effort.

Simply put, they regard the investigation and research work as dispensable, rather than regarding it as a basic task of the leading organs, or the prime duty of cadres of the leading organs. This is an extremely big mistake. Now, it is really necessary to emphasize that whether to conduct investigation and research is not a general issue. Rather, it is an issue determining whether the leading organs are free from the influence of subjectivism, a major issue determining whether we can uphold the party spirit, and a significant aspect determining whether we can make a fundamental change for the better. We must realize that some of our leading organs sometimes failed to make decisions that conform to reality, so their subordinates found it difficult to implement their decisions. Sometimes, their decisions were erroneous and were subject to various types of one-sided thinking. In the final analysis, it was the issue of subjectivism. As early as the Yanan era, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "This kind of subjectivist method, which conforms neither science nor Marxism-Leninism, is an arch enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people, and the nation; and it is a manifestation of an impure party spirit.... Only when we overthrow subjectivism can the Marxist-Leninist truth gain ground, can the party spirit be consolidated, and can we win the revolution. We should say that any attitude that lacks the scientific element, that is, that fails to tally Marxist-Leninist theory with practice, is the one without party spirit, or the one without a perfect party spirit."<sup>1</sup> A month after making the "Decision on Strengthening Party Spirit" on 1 July 1941, the CPC Central Committee made another

"Decision on Investigation and Research." In the latter, it pointed out that "to act in a crude and careless manner and to regard oneself as infallible are subjectivist work styles, or the first manifestation of having an impure party spirit. On the other hand, to seek truth from facts and to closely integrate theory with practice are the basic attitude for a party member who upholds the party spirit." By measuring oneself by the decisions of the CPC Central Committee, and discussions of Comrade Mao Zedong, we should evaluate our understanding of investigation and research work. In the course of understanding, do we link investigation and research to the principle of the party spirit? Do we take it as a basic task, and the prime duty? How should we strengthen in future the work of investigation and research?

It should be pointed out that another manifestation of the failure to link investigation and research to the principle of the party spirit is that some comrades do not uphold the principle of the party spirit when conducting their investigation and research. This is indicated mainly in the following points:

1. They conducted investigations for the purposes of proving that their particular viewpoints were correct. After going down to the grassroots, they neither proceeded from reality nor solicited opinions from the cadres or the masses. They only tried their best to collect materials that tallied with their viewpoints. Any other viewpoints or anything that did not tally with their viewpoints was rejected. The result of this kind of investigation is very harmful. This is because, if his viewpoint is incorrect, he would add a quantity of "actual facts" in his erroneous viewpoint, and cause confusion.

2. They conducted investigations for the purposes of adapting themselves to a certain political climate. In their investigations, they neither sought truth from facts nor based their work on facts. Rather, they confused red and black, and truth and falsehood in order to meet the requirements of a certain political climate.

3. They were concerned about face-saving rather than the truth. When they encountered contradictions involving several departments in their investigations, some comrades neither made an impartial judgment nor reported the actual situation. Rather, they tried to avoid mentioning the contradictions and to cover up the truth. Thus, they hindered others' efforts in solving those problems, instead of properly settling them. It was even worse that some would side with any department that had strong support or that offered them favorable terms.

4. They proceeded from the viewpoints of their leaders rather than from reality. In their investigations, some comrades spent their efforts on determining what a particular leader would like to hear and what he would not, rather than objectively analyzing the situation. They might simply report the good news but not the bad, or simply report the bad news but not the good. This kind

of investigation cannot help the leadership in any way. Instead, it magnifies the seriousness of problems.

5. They took their personal feelings as the yardstick of judgment. Though some comrades were able to collect certain materials in their investigation, they did not comprehensively and objectively listen to other opinions. Rather, they often took their personal feelings as the yardstick of judgment. Therefore, they only listened to and believed the opinions of one side, and stubbornly insisted on that viewpoint. Eventually, their conclusions were always incorrect even though they collected many materials in this kind of investigation.

6. They believed only in books. In their investigations, some comrades stressed only what the books said and what the newspapers and radio stations propagated, rather than what the actual situation was. This kind of investigation can neither reveal any new situation nor raise new questions, except for repeating what was printed in the books and what was said in the newspapers and on the radio. It does not help us handle our work. Instead, it often undermines our work.

All these are the manifestation of an impure party spirit. We say that whether or not we should conduct investigation and research is an issue of party spirit. The issue of how to conduct investigation and research is also one concerning party spirit. While we must emphasize understanding and evaluate the work of investigation and research by proceeding from the principle of party spirit, we must stress using the principle of party spirit to guide the work of investigation and research and to rectify problems of an impure party spirit in such work.

### III. It Is Worth Paying Attention to Points Concerning the Work of Investigation and Research

Proceeding from the present situation concerning the work of investigation and research, it is worth paying attention to the following methods.

1. We should pay attention to various types of targets in the work of investigation and research. At present, most people focus on the good results; a few people focus on the poor ones; and very few people focus on the gray areas. More often than not, this kind of investigation makes one's thinking subject to the experience of a few advanced units, so that he often judges the overall situation according to the situation of the advanced units, and works out principles and policies that fail to suit the actual situation of most areas and units. A reason that this situation develops is closely related to the preference of some people who like to hear the good news but not the bad. When going to the advanced areas or units, one may listen to compliments and feel comfortable. However, backward units are often plagued by problems and troubles. Therefore, some comrades do not want to go there. But these areas are just the ones that need us to conduct investigations and need our timely help.

2. In the work of investigation and research, not only must we contact cadres, but also the masses. This is because, more often than not, some important aspects of the situation are not reported by the cadres. This is because on the one hand, some cadres do not do the work in an in-depth manner, or understand the situation of the grassroots, so that they cannot find the cause; and on the other, some cadres fail to understand the situation, are subject to the influence of selfish thinking, and always prepare their reports according to their personal feelings. In particular, some cadres decide not to report the facts when they find that such problems may hinder their work. Furthermore, because of the different nature of their work, some cadres do not share the same viewpoint with the masses. Therefore, if one depends entirely on the cadres to understand the situation, he may be unable to keep abreast of certain aspects of the actual situation. Of course, we must listen to the opinions of the cadres and evaluate them. Our primary focus is, however, the masses. Only thus can our investigations be comprehensive. Otherwise, our work will tend to be affected by one-sided thinking.

3. In the work of investigation and research, we may notify the other party in advance of the questions that interest us, so that such party may make preparations, and we may conduct our investigations in a more systematic and profound manner. This practice is generally necessary. However, when dealing with certain highly complicated matters, we must begin our work by getting first-hand information; only thus can we understand the real situation. In particular, when the masses are still worried and are afraid to tell the truth, we should go directly to the masses without giving advance notice in order to listen to their opinions and their demands. By acting in this way, we may have to do a lot of work, but the results are more reliable.

4. Family visits have many advantages. In investigation, one must get to the bottom of things, and to pay family visits is an important aspect of the work. Families are the cells of society. By making in-depth inquiries among families, we may separate their common characteristics from their individual ones, may examine how correct is the situation reported by cadres. In paying family visits, we make contacts with different types of people and can easily develop a multidimensional sense. This helps us form a deep and comprehensive impression of certain problems. Its most valuable advantage is that we can make direct contacts with the masses and listen to different opinions, so that we can keep abreast of the actual situation.

5. We should pay attention to dissenting opinions and avoid making premature conclusions. When dealing with controversial complicated problems, we must listen to and evaluate the opinions of different people, and select the valid ones. Under no circumstances must we listen only to the opinions of a particular viewpoint or make evaluations with a biased point of view. Even if we believe that an investigation of a particular issue is almost complete and it is time to make a conclusion, we

should continue to listen to other opinions and to find more evidence. By acting in this way, we may prevent ourselves from developing one-sided thinking because we expend too much effort on following a particular method, and may avoid making superficial work simply because we have made minor achievements. Even though a particular issue has been repeatedly discussed, we must not think that our work is done. Instead, we must always act in the spirit of learning from others and making explorations, and must always maintain the desire for knowledge.

6. We must emphasize the process of calculation and comparison. In collecting figures from our targets of investigation, we must listen to and evaluate those figures. We must calculate the important figures, so that we may discover problems among them, and guide the other party to reveal the underlying situation. Therefore, in order to do a better job in investigation, we must make a practice of making large-scale calculations and quantitative analysis.

7. We must pay attention to confirming the situation. Some people report figures and percentages without careful thinking. However, under no circumstance must we rely only on the verbal statements of others. We must pay attention to finding actual evidence; we must collect historical materials such as statistics, financial statements, financial bills, and so on. Under certain circumstances, we must also audit the statistical and percentage figures relating to important issues. Also, cases relating to important issues may be cited as examples only after confirmation. A reason that some investigation reports were found to be incorrect was mainly because problems were found in the figures and examples quoted in such reports.

8. We must pay attention to newly emerged problems. Some people tend to ignore those unexpected and new problems that emerge in the course of investigation. Such practice is not recommended. In the process of investigation, one must not try all means to reject any new idea or new opinion, particularly those opinions and ideas that do not tally with his viewpoint, that of his fellow comrades, or those of his targets of investigation. Rather, he must grasp such ideas and opinions, find their cause of development, integrate them with reality, make in-depth thinking, and compare them with his own thought. Through the comparison, he must be bold in discarding his impractical ideas and viewpoints. Anyone who stubbornly upholds his original viewpoint and rejects all kinds of new ideas and new viewpoints cannot do a better job in the work of investigation and research. In particular, we must form an atmosphere of independent thinking, open-mindedness, and discussion within the investigation group.

9. When talking with the targets of investigation, we must avoid prematurely revealing our viewpoints, and must not criticize or show any indication of rejecting any viewpoint that is different from our own, so that the other party cannot continue to express himself. Even if

one finds it necessary to raise questions while the other party is expressing his viewpoints, he may raise such questions in an elucidation and consultative approach only after the other party has expressed his viewpoints, so that the other party can fully reveal his viewpoints.

10. We must encourage more contacts with the actual situation through our five major organs, namely eyes, ear, nose, tongue, and body; and simultaneously use these organs. We must actively use our brains, mouth, hands, feet. In other words, we must think more, ask more, jot down more, listen more, and frequently go to the masses. Anyone who hesitates to think, is reluctant to do any reasoning, only listens but doesn't remember, and is not willing to carry out activities among the masses is unable to do a better job in the work of investigation.

11. We must pay attention to prompt screening of existing materials. In particular, we must promptly rearrange typical and outstanding examples. We must not put it aside and wait until the work of investigation is completed. Otherwise, it will be difficult to do any remedial work when we have doubts and find contradictions.

12. We should integrate investigation with research. We must constantly carry out research and must not put the work aside and wait until a series of investigation tasks have been completed. The process of investigation and research integrates perceptual knowledge with rational knowledge. We must not indiscriminately separate the two. We must promptly take notes about the formation of our own viewpoints, so as to avoid extinguishing ideological sparks that are ignited as a result of contacts with reality.

13. We must be sensitive enough to catch any casual remarks that may be important information to an attentive listener. In particular, we must pay attention to the fact that our targets' tongues sometimes speak what their hearts think. Their careless remarks often reveal their actual thinking.

14. We must act in the spirit of feeling no shame to learn from one's subordinates. In particular, leading cadres may, in the course of investigation, find that they are not familiar with certain matters. Though unfamiliar they may be, they must get to the bottom of things and thoroughly understand such matters. They must not pretend that they know everything, and cheat themselves.

15. We must build basic points of investigation. Investigation at a location is not completely finished in a single move. Some locations may be selected as the basic points of continuous investigation and research, and we may maintain contacts with such locations. After a certain period, we may conduct another investigation at such locations and compare the materials collected in the two investigations, thereby getting a different result, which was unexpected in the first investigation. An accumulation of results of such investigations helps us gradually improve our knowledge.



16. The work of investigation and research is a process of practice, understanding, and another round of practice and understanding. As changes in the objective world never end, neither do people's knowledge and the work of investigation and research. The process of understanding is not done in a single step, neither does an investigation. Every round of investigation helps us improve our knowledge, though it has its limitations. Therefore, when we make a conclusion after the completion of an investigation, we must make reservation for changes. There must be a process in the development of everything, including the emergence of a contradiction. The implementation of a policy (even the best one) must bring about new problems. When we carry out the work of investigation and research, particularly on major problems relating to the process of decisionmaking, we must bear in mind that there are limits to our knowledge. Under no circumstances must we classify things in extremes simply because our understanding at that moment is correct, or because we think that it can be done once and for all. In order to perform our duties, such as solving problems, we must conduct investigations. This should become a conventional rule of our work.

17. When the work of investigation and research involves technical problems, we must have experts on the team.

In other words, to leading organs, the work of investigation and research is a basic task; and to each of the cadres, it is their basic requirement. Leaders at various levels must take it as a school of science and study how to do a better job in investigation and research. Before Marx wrote the work *Das Kapital*, and before Lenin wrote *Development of Russian Capitalism* and *On Imperialism*, and so forth, both of them conducted a host of investigation and research work. The veteran proletarian revolutionaries, including Mao Zedong, are our party's examples with respect to the work of investigation and research. On the one hand, we must study their brilliant expositions on the work of investigation and research; and on the other, we must study their ways of conducting investigation and research, which is more important. Comrade Mao Zedong, in addition to personally conducting the work of investigation and research, was good at applying to his guiding work the results of investigation and research done by other people. For example, the three typical experiences (the experience of Pingshan County, Hebei, in rectifying the party in an open manner; the experience of Huangjiachuan, Suide County, in division of land; and the experience of Dunxian County, Shanxi, in land reforms), which were famous nationwide during the period of land reforms, was approved and transmitted across the country by Comrade Mao Zedong with his personal remarks. Comrade Ren Bishi was also good at applying typical examples to his investigations. For instance, in his report "Several Questions Concerning the Land Reforms," he emphasized throughout his report a typical example, that is, the investigation conducted at Caijiaya, Xingxian

County, Shanxi. He cited this typical example in so lively a manner that it sounded natural and forceful. Comrade Mao Zedong praised his report and said that Comrade Ren Bishi solved a nationwide problem by grasping a typical example. He further pointed out, "Since all crows in the world are of the same black color, why must we classify them into Chinese crow, foreign crow, southern crow, and northern crow?" Of course, this refers to the approach of dissecting a sparrow. It means that we should apply the typical characteristics and grasp the typical examples, rather than indiscriminately applying the method adopted by a particular place to everywhere. All these require us to study by integrating it with the new actual situation. Provided that we earnestly go to the masses and learn from the masses with an open mind, we shall be able to continuously improve our level of investigation, thereby leading China's cause of socialist modernizations to a new victory.

#### Footnote

1. *Selected Readings of the Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 2, pp. 476-477.

#### Attach Importance to Democratic Parties' Role in Local Economic Construction

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in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 90 pp 8-10, 38

[Article by Qian Weichang (6929 0251 7022)]

[Text] The majority of the democratic parties' members are people of learning who have special talents. How to fully display their role in local economic construction is a problem that should not be overlooked. In the third 10-day period of May this year, I visited Suining City of Sichuan Province to conduct a survey and discovered that the Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance had attached great importance to this work. They organized members of the alliance to concretely give fixed and directional support to Suining City's economic and technical development and made valuable contributions to changing the mountainous appearance of the central part of Sichuan Province. In my opinion, their experiences carried a spontaneous significance, worthy of copying and pushing forward.

Suining City is located in the central part of the Sichuan basin. The city center and the two counties of Pengxi and Shehong under its administration cover an area of 5,300 square kilometers with a population of 3.37 million and it is a typical mountainous agricultural district. Suining City was established in 1985. At the first Suining City CPC representatives congress held in 1986, it was advocated that, in searching for the road to economic development of the mountainous region in central Sichuan, aside from leadership by the Communist Party, emphasis should be given to the strength of the democratic parties so that through them liaison could be established with a number of intellectual elements, the



strong points of the democratic parties could be displayed, and service could be rendered to Suining's economic construction. In 1986, Xi Yifang, mayor of Suining City and concurrently assistant secretary of the Suining City CPC Committee, personally sought the road of establishing liaison with the democratic parties of Sichuan Province, strived for support in wisdom and expertise and very soon became linked up with the Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance, which, regarding this demand for support in wisdom of an overall character, being large in scale and requiring sustained enforcement and progress, coming from the Suining CPC Committee, carried out an earnest and thorough study and, on the basis of having made full investigation and discussions, signed a long-term cooperative agreement with Suining City.

In early 1989, with the support in wisdom provided by the Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance, the city center of Suining City participated in submitting tenders for becoming technological overall development pilot points of the provincial Scientific Commission and was selected as one of the pilot points of the province. The Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance, in its capacity as trustee unit in technology, again signed with the Suining City center an agreement on overall technological development and signed separate cooperative agreements on each of the development projects. As for the other cooperative projects, the relevant specialists signed cooperative agreements with the relevant departments of Suining City. The agreements specified clearly the relations regarding the responsibility, power, and benefits of both parties and the joint contribution of strength to developing and making prosperous the economy of the mountainous region in the central part of the province.

Over the past five years, the Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance has organized scores of well-known specialists vis-a-vis the realities and special features in Suining's economic construction, proposed over 100 valuable and workable construction projects and composed over 50 essays on the topic. They signed over 50 projects related to inquiries, cooperative development, and technical training on various sectors such as the planting trade, rearing and breeding trade, agricultural products processing industry, and economic management in agriculture. They provided over 5,000 kilograms of good seeds for agricultural crops, helped and provided liaison in ordering and purchasing over 3.5 million kilograms of good seeds, introduced over 20 technical projects pertaining to the planting of agricultural crops, rearing and breeding of fowls and animals, and processing of agricultural products, gave 28 training courses of various kinds, and provided over 5,000 instances of training to agricultural technical, operational, and management personnel. In the course of the cooperative work between the two sides, they devised certain effective forms: 1) Setting up scientific and technological exemplary villages aimed at guiding the surface and pushing the development of vitalizing agriculture with science and technology. The Democratic

Alliance branch organs of the three agricultural scientific institutes located at Chuannung, Mienyang, and Nanzhong set up in succession scientific and technological experimental exemplary base villages in Liushu, Taizhong, and Hengshan. They succeeded in making the economies of these three villages meet the demand of "starting to progress in one year's time," and effectively pushed the work of vitalizing agriculture with science and technology of the whole city. 2) Jointly taking up the "pilot" work on technical overall development of the mountain regions. In the severe tender competitions participated in by over 80 hilly and mountainous counties of entire Sichuan Province, Suining City's central district obtained the award, thanks to technically relying on the specialists' team organized by the Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance. Over the past year, the Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance organized over 100 visits by specialists to the city central district to conduct overall discourses and practical guidance. 3) Taking part in discussions and giving guidance on projects bearing on the economic development of the entire city, such as the establishment of an electrothermal-heated large plastic shed [greenhouse], experimentally setting up a rural social auditing structure, carrying out ecological agricultural piloting points, and so forth. 4) Based on discussions on Suining City's strategic planning for the year 2000, developing research on the strategy of economic development of the city. At the moment an overall research report (draft) has been completed on this research topic.

Since seeing is always better than hearing, I spent several days conducting an on-the-spot study and found that people of the democratic parties certainly did a large amount of work in vitalizing Suining City.

In Jueshan Village, about 25 kilometers away from the city center, I inspected a piece of dry land reputed to harvest five crops a year, these five crops being wheat, corn, soy bean, hongtiao [(4767 5378) red trumpet creeper], and corn, and the per mu annual gross output exceeding one ton. The hilly region in central Sichuan has many such pieces of dry land, and harvesting five times each year certainly is significant. At the time of my visit, wheat had already been harvested, in the fields corn and intercrop soy beans were growing, and in the hilly region all the fields were of a rich green color. The village head said the healthy growth of these crops was all due to the able guidance of the grain specialists and chief cultural expert Xiaong Fan of the Nanzhong Rural Science Institute of the Democratic Alliance; they have printed 10,000 sets of "planting diagrams for standard transformation of dry land" for us, and almost each and every rural household has a copy pinned to the wall.

Expanding the planting area of paddy, increasing the planting density of rice, and selecting new combinations were the important guidance given by the specialists on increasing grain production. They also guided the peasants to breed and raise fish in the paddy field. I stood on the edge of the paddy field and watched the silver carp

playing in the water, the largest of which were half a foot long. According to the report, each mu of paddy field yearly produced 150 kilograms of fish. The paddy fields in the city center have fish breeding points covering a total area of 39,300 mu and the gross output of fish amounted to 2.6 million kilograms, thus providing an important avenue for the peasants to become well-off.

Hog raising was an important source of economic income for the peasant households. In the house of farmer Chan Jungshi I found that they were trying out the technique of scientifically using "hongtiao" to feed hogs and pigs to grow lean meat. This technique was introduced by Professor Yang Feng, the former head of the Sichuan Agricultural Institute. Professor Yang was of Naxi nationality from Yunnan; he was already 70 years old, had come many times to Suining to provide guidance on work, and demonstrated a spirit well worthy of respect. Now, tutor Jia, of an already advanced age and associated with the Sichuan Agricultural College, is regularly helping the peasants to scientifically raise hogs. He said that using this scientific method to feed pigs would increase a pig's weight by 90 to 100 kilograms in six months' time, or a daily growth of 400 to 450 grams, with the lean-meat ratio being above 50 percent. The peasants, after seeing and becoming acquainted with this demonstration, hurried one after another to follow the scheme.

Peasant Chen Zugui's house was newly built, with two floors and six rooms. A large number of silkworms were kept on the first floor. According to him, specialists from the Democratic Alliance first helped them use a mixed brand of mulberry tree leaves and modern equipment to hasten the hatching of silkworms. In attending to the silkworms, the techniques of specialized sterilization and co-rearing of small silkworms were also employed. In addition, the technique of warming silkworm cocoons with the 86-1-type heated air furnace was extensively pushed in the district. As a result, the income of the whole district increased by nearly 800,000 yuan. In view of their posting in their house an antithetical couplet of a rather superstitious nature, I told them to support the leadership of the Communist Party, accept help from scientists, and I hoped that they would be diligent and be more attached to science and scientific methods. The couple was very pleased.

In order to overcome the phenomena of confusion prevailing in financial and economy management in rural cooperative societies, Professor Hou Dekun of the Southwest China Agricultural College and cadres of the auditing bureau of the city center experimentally organized in February 1988 a rural area social auditing unit in Anjuba. The district head told me that up to the present six rural area social auditing offices and 31 service stations have been established, gradually pushing various kinds of services such as auditing, supervision, notary, and advisory work. So far, violations of discipline and law amounting to a total of 105,000 yuan have been discovered.

Many times the cadres and populace in Suining City mentioned and introduced to us the incident of the specialists of the Democratic Alliance helping them build the large plastic sheds [greenhouses] for the electothermal heating of vegetables. This engineering project, begun in September last year, has now produced notable and concrete economic results. The project was established under the proposal and guidance of a 70-year-old female professor of the Southwest Agricultural College, a noted plant cultivation expert by the name of Liu Peiyong. The purposes of the project were to raise plant seedlings by the electothermal hotbed technique, carry out hothouse cultivation, and conduct tests on the quality of products and the efficacy of farm medicines. Scheduled and nonscheduled spot technical training classes were also held and the object was to provide Suining City with vegetable seedlings that are of an early-maturity, high-yield, good quality, and disease-resistant type and to spread and propagate advanced cultivation and planting techniques. On my visit, I found here 14 large sheds covering an area of some 10 mu of land, all under superb management. According to the reports, as of the end of last year, 600,000 vegetable seedlings of some 35 varieties were cultivated, and 300 instances of training were conducted for peasants who plant vegetables. At the same time, they conducted a demonstration of continuous cropping of persimmons and cucumbers covering a field of 20 mu and had good results. Comrade Lui Wenfang, a gardening specialist at West China Agricultural College, was entrusted by Comrade Liu Peiyong to stay permanently in Suining to guide the work on the plastic shed. Since September last year he has not returned home. He spent the new year holidays in the home of a peasant. His daughter was married in Zhongqing. All he did was send her a letter of congratulations. It may indeed be said that all the time he was attached to his work.

What won my utmost respect was the case of 82-year-old Professor Ye Qianji of West China Agricultural College. This agricultural ecologist, well-known both inside the country and abroad, disregarded his old age and resolutely came to Suining to set up his pilot points of ecology in agriculture. This time I met him in person in Suining. He warmly invited me to take a look at the experimental region on ecology in agriculture set up in Guihua Township. After the car sped past the winding mountain road, he led me to the mountain slope to take a look around. What I saw was a large area of green foliage on the mountain ridges. It appeared that all the mountain slopes had been put to good use, some were planted with trees, some with bamboo, some with grain, and some with vegetables. Herds of sheep and cows were seen on pieces of grassland, and the sound of running water in the nearby mountain streams could be distinctly heard. Aged professor Ye said the demonstrations last year to 112 households and 555 persons produced results. The annual grain output was 310,000 kilograms, averaging 558 kilograms per head, and surpassing the average figure for the whole

township by over 100 percent. The peasant households in the locality were given the nickname of households of ecological agriculture.

In Pengxi County, the Long Sheng high-yield fruit and good-quality pilot and demonstration district was likewise set up with help from specialists assigned by the Democratic Alliance. In Huima Township of this county I heard people make the following claim: Up to the present, training of backbone cadres in fruit technology has been conducted 3,898 man-times, help has been provided to the formation of 14 specialized teams on protection of plants and vegetation, 6,000 good-seed young plants have been introduced, and also introduced were 23 new varieties of plants. The grafting of 24,514 plants has been made according to guidance and the survival rate of the grafted plants has been over 95 percent.

Daizhong Village of Shehong County is the pilot and demonstration base area in agricultural science and technology of the subdivision of the Agricultural Science Institute of the Democratic Alliance in Mienyang City. Over the past two years, under the guidance of the aged specialists Zhang Meinen, Zhang Zhaobin, Yang Fasheng, and Yuan Daibien, very pleasing changes have taken place in this village. In 1989, the gross output volume of grain of the entire village increased by four percent over the preceding year, cotton production created the highest record in history, averaging a per mu yield of 150 jin. The per capita sale of fat pigs was 1.03 head, an increase of 5.1 percent over the preceding year. This year, all the crops grow in a tip-top manner, bearing signs of a coming bountiful harvest.

The above was what I saw and heard in the four days of my visit to Suining. Suining CPC Secretary Xi Yifang and Mayor Ren Chuanhuai said that, five years since the founding of Suining City, in 1989 the whole city's social gross output value amounted to 4.604 billion yuan and, compared with 1984, the increase was 2.746 billion yuan. The national income and financial revenues were doubled. Naturally, specialists of the Democratic Alliance have contributed a large share to these successes.

How did the Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance and the leadership at various levels in Suining City cooperate for such a prolonged period and obtain such notable effects? The basic reason is the unanimity of their objectives—building of our country into a socialist modernized strong country. The Democratic Alliance is a political party organized by intellectual elements of the middle and higher levels to do work in the socialist enterprises. The local Democratic Alliance have organized at appropriate times their constituent members to participate in resource information and service work in a locality or on a special project, thus providing these specialized scientific and technological personnel with an opportunity to display their talents. In the vast rural areas and particularly in impoverished regions such as Suining and the like, the people are backward in science and culture. They sorely need the

support of the wisdom of this large number of specialized people. The leadership cadres in Suining City respect knowledge, respect talents, and have steadfastly taken the road of vitalizing agriculture through science and technology and thus enabled these specialized personnel to display their wisdom and talents.

Here I especially wish to pay tribute to the nearly 2 specialists who have directly or indirectly made contributions to Suining's economic development. The majority of them are aged people. Some of them have been well-known both inside the country and abroad. For example, professors like Ye Qianji, Liu Peiying, Yang Feng, Li Hanyun, Liu Sibai, and Lei Qichuan all had a heavy burden of teaching and scientific research work but they have frequently left the large cities and towns, gone deep into the impoverished mountainous areas in central Sichuan Province and made contributions to the economic development of the locality and the enrichment of the populace. From their persons an honorable offering spirit of struggling for the socialist enterprises was manifested. This spirit of making offerings was precisely formed, under the nurturing of the Chinese Communist Party, in a prolonged period of social actual practices. The cooperation between the Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance was also the probing of a road for the intellectual elements to understand the national conditions and to be in touch with actual practice. Many specialists and scholars have integrated their support of wisdom and intelligence to Suining and the studies and research in their teachings and some of them have uncovered new research topics in the course of their work. They have felt that intellectual elements should make use of their specialties to serve industrial and agricultural production and should not abandon their own specialty to undertake integration of other forms of things. By doing so, they could put their specialties to good use and extend and widen their sphere of thought. The 82-year-old Professor Ye Zianji said, "To me peasants are above all. As a member of the Democratic Alliance I want in the remaining years of my life, to have my knowledge contributed to Suining and enable the peasants there to become well-off." His words came from the bottom of his heart and were a true picture of his association with the peasant masses.

The system of cooperation of many parties under the leadership of the CPC is a new type of socialist political party system, basically different from the two-party system and multiparty system in Western capitalist countries. People who look at our country's socialist political party system from the viewpoint of the political parties of the capitalist class are bound to arrive at wrong conclusions. This is because the various democratic parties and cliques in China and the CPC, in their long-term practices in revolution and construction, have formed common interests and demands and have a common target for their struggle. At present, they insist on firmly taking the basic road of the initial stage of socialism to struggle for the building of our country into



a strong, democratic, and civilized socialist modern nation, for unification of the fatherland, and for vigorously developing China. Naturally, the multiparty cooperation system under the leadership of the CPC is still to be perfected and both in form and content requires further probing and experimenting. The long-term cooperation between the Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance and Suining City not only has brought to Suining City economic and social benefits and promoted democratic rule but also has enriched the contents of the Democratic Alliance in its participation in politics and made the union of the Democratic Alliance and the CPC closer and more intimate. In this context, it may be said that the cooperation between the Sichuan provincial committee of the Democratic Alliance and Suining City has added to and amplified the contents of the multiparty cooperation system under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

**Zhang Wentian and Investigation and Study—In Commemoration of the 90th Anniversary of Comrade Zhang Wentian's Birth**

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[Text] The 90th anniversary of Comrade Zhang Wentian's birth fell on 30 August this year. It has been 14 years since Zhang Wentian left us. With the passage of time, people's knowledge of his historic feats and noble moral qualities has deepened and their esteem and longing for him have also grown.

Zhang Wentian was a proletarian revolutionary and a proletarian theoretician. He was a devout Marxist and was, for a long time, an important leader of our party. He joined the revolution in his youth. Soon after joining the CPC in 1925, he was sent to study in the Soviet Union. Not long after returning to China in 1931, he was appointed Standing Committee member of the CPC Central Committee, secretary of the Secretariat, and other top-level posts. When the party was under the domination of Wang Ming's left deviationist line, he committed grave left deviationist errors because he did not understand the conditions in China. However, once he realized his mistakes, he submitted to the truth and sincerely mended his ways. At the critical juncture after the Red Army had crossed the Xiang Jiang on its Long March, he was the first to step forward to fight the erroneous military leadership and support Mao Zedong's correct propositions, thus paving the way for the convocation of the Zunyi Meeting. At the Zunyi Meeting, he completely renounced the left deviationist line and, alongside Mao Zedong and other comrades, made great contributions toward saving the party and the Red Army. He was democratic, humble, and prudent in his work style. He maintained unity with his comrades and lived up to everyone's expectations. Due to developing

circumstances and work needs, he was in fact no longer in overall charge of the Central Committee after the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee in 1938. Willing to serve in higher or lower posts as required and not concerning himself with personal loss or gain, he spent all his energies on the work of theoretical propaganda and cadre education entrusted to him by the party. During the 1942 Yanan Rectification, he took the initiative to go to the rural areas, where he spent more than one year carrying out investigations. His thinking and work style underwent a thorough change as a result. After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, Zhang Wentian asked to be transferred to the northwest to work at the local level. He went deep into the realities of life to conduct investigations and studies and made outstanding achievements in land reform, economic construction, and other work. Immediately after the founding of the People's Republic, Zhang Wentian was transferred to the diplomatic front. He resolutely implemented the Central Committee's diplomatic policies and helped New China achieve remarkable success in its foreign affairs. At the Lushan Meeting in 1959, he made some very pertinent comments and was treated unjustly for these. After this, he went through a difficult time and suffered untold hardships. Still, he had the interests of the whole in mind and endured the humiliation. Under extremely difficult circumstances, he assiduously carried out probes into some of the basic theoretical problems of socialism in the hope that his efforts would be of some help to the party's cause. His concern for the country and the people moved everyone deeply. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his speech in memory of Zhang Wentian, "Comrade Zhang Wentian's was a revolutionary life, devoted to the party and the people." This was a fair historical assessment of his life. Looking back over Zhang Wentian's life, we noted that he had consciously gone deep into the realities of life and persisted in investigations and studies after the start of the Yanan Rectification. This was an important reason why he was subsequently able to make remarkable achievements in theory and practice. As we commemorate the 90th anniversary of Comrade Zhang Wentian's birth, we should make an earnest effort to study his thinking and practice in connection with investigations and studies. This will be of immense practical significance in our efforts to implement the guidelines of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, go deep into the realities of life, maintain close ties to the masses, do a solid job in all fields, and further promote steady political, economic, and social development in China.

**I. Zhang Wentian's Understanding and Practice of Investigations and Studies**

Zhang Wentian's understanding and practice of investigations and studies throughout his lifetime may be roughly divided into four stages:

1. Prior to the Zunyi Meeting, Zhang Wentian did not attach much importance to investigations and studies.



He did not understand China's conditions and committed serious mistakes as a result. When the May 4th Movement broke out in 1919, Zhang Wentian was studying in Nanjing at the Hehai Engineering College. With great fervor, he plunged into this patriotic movement for democracy and had his first contact with Marxism. In August that year, he published an article entitled "Social Problems" in which he showed his patriotic sentiments and sensitivity to new ideas by clearly stating that one must apply the Marxist materialist conception of history in observing China's social problems. After 1920, he went to Japan and the United States to further his studies. After extensive contact with and observation of Western capitalist societies and various trends of thought, he ultimately chose to accept Marxism. Upon his return to China, he joined the CPC with the determination to devote himself to communism. Soon afterward he was sent to the Soviet Union by the party, where he studied for five years first, at Moscow's Sun Yat-sen University, and then at the Red Professor Academy, and laid a solid Marxist theoretical foundation. Shortly after returning to China in February 1931, Zhang Wentian was promoted to the top-level leadership of the CPC Central Committee by the Comintern. This was the time when the international communist movement began to dogmatize Marxism and sanctify the Soviet experience, and when Wang Ming's left opportunist line was dominating the party Central Committee. It was unavoidable for Zhang Wentian, who was in a high position but lacked a basic understanding of China's conditions and had little practical experience, to toe this line and commit left deviationist errors. Recalling this period, he later wrote, "I knew too little about China."<sup>1</sup> "Like innocent but artless children, we suffered great pains for a long time and yet knew not where the thorn that was hurting us came from. It was after much sacrifice and loss, and after being told repeatedly by Comrade Mao Zedong, that we began to realize that this thorn was objective reality. If we continue to ignore it and refuse to recognize it, we will be in danger of national subjugation and genocide."<sup>2</sup> These remarks were the profound reflections of Zhang Wentian on his past mistakes. They showed that inadequate investigations and studies, failure to understand China's conditions, and the separation of theory and practice were the cognitive origin of Zhang Wentian's left deviationist errors.

2. During the Yanan Rectification period, Zhang Wentian went to northern Shaanxi and western Shanxi to conduct social surveys and his understanding of investigations and studies showed a qualitative leap. After hearing Mao Zedong's report on "Reform Our Study" at the beginning of the Yanan Rectification in 1941, Zhang Wentian became deeply convinced of the necessity to go deep into the realities of life and proceeded to organize a "Yanan Countryside Investigation Group." As leader, he led this group to northern Shaanxi and western Shanxi and conducted rural social surveys in these places for 402 days. During the surveys he stayed in the homes of ordinary peasants, spent a lot of time interviewing

large numbers of peasants, grassroots cadres, and people from all walks of life, and consulted piles of written documents on economic and social conditions. In the villages where he stayed to gain firsthand experience, he visited practically every household. He had heart-to-heart talks with the masses by the side of fields, on the brickbeds, and under the lamps, and cultivated a deep friendship with the local people. With the humble spirit of learning from the masses and the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, he made all-round and in-depth observations of the productive forces, production relations, and the superstructure in these places. Under his direction and guidance, 19 investigation reports were written. After the surveys he wrote an article entitled "Account of Departure and Return," in which he earnestly summed up changes in his thinking. He also solemnly submitted a report to the party Central Committee. In this report, he ruthlessly dissected his own past and boldly admitted that he was not yet a true materialist. He said, "I have to start my self-remolding by becoming a true materialist."<sup>3</sup> He realized profoundly that, "as a true materialist, the least I can do is to proceed from objective reality."<sup>4</sup> "In order to proceed from reality and understand reality, the basic requirement is to conduct investigations and studies on reality."<sup>5</sup> He further pointed out, "The work of investigations and studies is not a crash job to be carried out over a period of time. It is neither a job to be carried out at a certain stage of work nor a job that is only required of certain persons. It is the basis of all work, the basic job that runs through the entire process of work, the most important organic component of all work, and the work that must be done by everyone engaged in work. Whether or not a thorough job has been done in investigations and studies is the key to the success or failure of all work."<sup>6</sup> Summing up his own thinking and personal understanding, in his conclusion he profoundly pointed out: "Getting in touch with reality and maintaining close ties to the masses" through investigations and studies "is the lifelong task of a communist."<sup>7</sup> He also told the party that he would always strive to get in touch with reality and maintain close ties to the masses. This survey conducted by Zhang Wentian and the report he submitted to the Central Committee marked a qualitative leap in his understanding and practice of investigations and studies and represented a thorough change in his way of thinking.

3. During the War of Liberation and in the early days of the People's Republic, Zhang Wentian went deep into the realities of life to conduct investigations and studies and made remarkable contributions toward the revolutionary cause. In order to correctly lead the land reform, he served concurrently as head of the Huachuan County Land Reform Work Group when he was secretary of the Hejiang Provincial CPC Committee. He personally went to Huiyongshan Village in the second district of Huachuan County to gain firsthand experience. To familiarize himself with the situation, he called on every household and wrote a detailed report of an investigation into the class situation in the village. He required all

land reform work groups in the province to conduct class surveys on individual villages, districts, or counties and to publish the findings for distribution among comrades taking part in the land reform. On the basis of extensive and in-depth investigations and studies, the provincial party committee combined the guidelines of the Central Committee with the actual situation in Hejiang and formulated correct policies and measures, thereby ensuring the healthy development of land reform in the whole province and arousing the enthusiasm of the broad masses. This strategic place in the remote border area was quickly turned into a strong revolutionary base and rendered great support to the War of Liberation throughout the whole northeast.

After the land reform, he personally led the Hejiang Provincial CPC Committee's Research Center and comrades from Jiamusi City CPC Committee in conducting investigations and studies on the economic situation in Jiamusi. After several months of investigations and studies, they achieved the preliminary understanding that there were five economic sectors in Jiamusi. Following his transfer to the Northeast Bureau in June 1948, he conducted a supplementary survey after consulting materials on various parts of the northeast. In September, he drafted the "Outline of the Economic Composition and Basic Principle of Economic Construction in the Northeast" for the Northeast Bureau, in which he put forward for the first time the notion that there were five economic sectors in the period of new democracy. This was the earliest party document that discussed the new democratic economic structure in full. The idea of the coordinated development of various economic sectors under the leadership of the state-owned economy put forward in the "Outline" was of far-reaching theoretical significance to economic construction in the northeast and to New China's road of economic development. Mao Zedong incorporated the ideas of the "Outline" into his report delivered at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee. This "Outline" was another fruitful result of the investigations and studies conducted by Zhang Wentian when he was working in the northeast. It was also his remarkable contribution toward Mao Zedong Thought.

In the early days of the People's Republic, Zhang Wentian served successively as ambassador to the Soviet Union and executive vice minister of foreign affairs. On the basis of investigations and studies, he put forward the notion that the fundamental task of diplomatic missions is to investigate and study the conditions of the countries to which they are accredited as well as international relations in order to be able to advise the party and the state, and that the main emphasis of an ambassador's work is to give guidance in investigations and studies and in other work. At his suggestion, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs established a special organ for investigations and studies and published GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] and other journals. He paid attention to conducting investigations and studies on changes in the international situation and

put forward his situation analyses and policy recommendations to the Central Committee on this basis. His important views included the fact that the possibility of local wars still exists and he believed that the possibility of avoiding a world war is growing is a fact that "can give us a peaceful international environment lasting 10 to 20 years in which to build socialism"; that nationalist countries led by the bourgeoisie still have vitality; that China should work within the limits of its own resources in aiding foreign countries; that diplomatic missions should target their work mainly at the governments of various countries, and that the principle of thrift and hard work should be upheld in conducting diplomatic affairs. These views played a positive role in ensuring the smooth launching of China's diplomatic work.

4. As a result of his perseverance in investigation and study, Zhang Wentian achieved a level of understanding higher than most people of his generation in his later years. In April and October 1958 and in March 1959, he conducted investigations in Shanghai, Hangzhou, the northeast, Guangdong, and Guangxi. With his quick perception, he became aware of the "communist wind" and "boasting wind," and their serious consequences, and promptly reported his findings to the Central Committee. In July 1959, he systematically criticized the mistakes of the Great Leap Forward and the people's commune movements at the Lushan Meeting, emphasizing the importance of overcoming subjectivism and one-sidedness in guiding ideology and promoting intraparty democracy. His speech was a Marxist speech rarely heard in those years. It systematically analyzed the mistakes made in 1958 and represented a record height in his level of understanding and principle of party spirit. Unfortunately, this speech landed him in trouble under charges of "rightist opportunism" and "opposing the party." After the meeting he was relieved of his leadership duties in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and transferred to the Philosophy and Social Science Department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences as "special researcher" for the Institute of Economics. In adverse circumstances, he still persisted in studying the theories and practice of socialist construction. In 1962, he requested permission to conduct economic surveys in provinces and cities such as Jiangsu, Shanghai, Zhejiang, and Hunan. Based on his findings, he wrote "Some Suggestions on Rural Fairs and Other Questions" and proposed to the Central Committee the further lifting of restrictions on rural fairs. During the 10 years of disaster, Zhang Wentian suffered ruthless persecution. He was "transferred" to Zhaoqing in Guangdong in 1969. While under surveillance, he wrote a series of articles, including "The People Are the Masters," "Politics and Economics Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and "Intraparty Struggle Must Be Correctly Carried Out," from his loyalty to Marxism and by basing himself on his investigations and studies of China's conditions over the past few decades. In these articles, he sharply criticized the wrong practices of the Cultural Revolution and the erroneous "left" guiding ideologies that had existed since the founding of the People's

Republic and explored some basic theoretical questions of socialism. He put forward the idea that the primary task of socialism was to develop the productive forces. With deep insight, he pointed out, "Communism was built on the basis of highly developed social productive forces."<sup>9</sup> "The masses of the people are the masters, and the party is the servant."<sup>10</sup> "Practice by the masses is the supreme yardstick for measuring the party's line and policies."<sup>11</sup> "The mistake which the party is most liable to commit, the most dangerous and deadly mistake, is to divorce from the masses."<sup>12</sup> Many of these views of his coincided with the understanding of the party Central Committee after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This showed that his level of understanding was higher than most people of his generation and that he had contributed his share toward developing the theory of scientific socialism and the theory of building the party in power.

## II. The Major Characteristics of Investigations and Studies by Zhang Wentian

1. Combining knowledge and action and always adhering to this principle. Zhang Wentian had undergone a painful process of groping along in his understanding of investigations and studies. In his own words, "The most universal truth of Marxist materialism was accepted by our Chinese party only after paying a heavy price."<sup>13</sup> It was precisely for this reason that, once he understood the importance of investigation and study, he earnestly practiced what he had learned and such work became his conscious action all his life. He attached importance to investigation and study when he was carrying out land reform in the northeast and did the same when he was in charge of economic work. He did all he could to carry out investigations and studies whether in times of war or in times of peace, whether he was working in China or abroad, and whether he was in favorable or adverse circumstances. It is not difficult for a person to conduct investigations and studies once or twice, but it is quite worthy of esteem when he or she perseveres in doing this over an extended period. Zhang Wentian was a model in conducting investigations and studies with perseverance over an extended period. Zhang Wentian held that he who did not pay attention to investigation and study was not a true materialist. He further pointed out, "Even though a Communist Party member may have kept in touch with reality and maintained close ties to the masses in the past, once he is divorced from reality and from the masses, his mind will become hardened and will become an exhibit of history in the museum of old Bolsheviks."<sup>14</sup> This understanding tells us that he who does not persevere in investigation and study does not know dialectics. This follows that objective matters are constantly developing and changing and one who does not persevere in investigation and study is bound to separate from reality and fall into the quagmire of metaphysics. Zhang Wentian emphasized and persevered in investigation and study. Once he mastered the truth, he held fast to it all his life. Thus, he set a brilliant example for us in adhering to the road of combining theory with practice.

2. Going down to the grassroots units and doing things personally. Zhang Wentian set great store by going down to the grassroots units to conduct investigations and studies. When he carried out rural surveys in northern Shaanxi, he went down to Hejiachuan, Renjiawan, and Bicun, and focused his investigations on these villages. When conducting economic surveys in the northeast, he personally investigated a number of factories and shops in Jiamusi City. Zhang Wentian's opinion was that "we must seize hold of a typical village, township, or town, conduct in-depth investigations and studies there, and talk with the cadres and masses at the lowest level. This is an absolute must. In so doing, one can obtain the most direct and most reliable materials."<sup>15</sup> This was his personal experience in going down to the grassroots units. It is a very profound truth because grassroots units are the cells of society and "the ones who have a truly intimate knowledge of this truth are people engaged in actual practice."<sup>16</sup> Only by going down to the grassroots units can we grasp the sentiments of the masses and truly understand their pressing needs. Only in this way can we derive wisdom and nourishment from the masses, sum up experience, and promote work. Zhang Wentian also went through a process in his understanding of doing things personally. He said, "In the past, I thought of doing things personally, such as personally reading documents, talking things over with senior cadres, and taking part in work discussions. I did not understand that I should have personally kept in touch with reality, with the masses, and with cadres of the lowest ranks. It is precisely in the latter that the principal meaning of doing things personally lies."<sup>17</sup> Once he understood this point, Zhang Wentian consciously went down to the grassroots level, personally went to talk with the workers, peasants, servicemen, intellectuals, and grassroots cadres, personally went to the grassroots units to familiarize himself with the situation and experience life, personally called investigation meetings, and personally asked questions and took notes. As a senior cadre, Zhang Wentian also personally wrote summaries of experience and investigation reports and drafted important documents. For instance, four of the 19 reports on the northern Shaanxi survey were written by him. Some of our party's important historic documents, such as the famous resolution of the Zunyi Meeting and the resolution of the Wayaobao Meeting, were drafted by him. Only in this way can a leading cadre truly get in touch with reality and maintain close ties to the masses; and only in this way can they effectively guard against subjectivism and bureaucratism. Zhang Wentian's experience was proof of this. He also set an example for us by going down to the grassroots units and personally taking a hand in conducting investigations and studies in a down-to-earth manner.

3. Respect the facts and uphold the truth. The spirit shown by Zhang Wentian in seeking truth from facts and upholding the truth is very prominent and moving. Before the Zunyi Meeting, he resolutely abandoned his left deviationist errors and supported Mao Zedong's correct views when he realized, through practice, the harm of the left deviationist errors and the correctness of



Mao Zedong's views. After the Zunyi Meeting, when he was in overall charge of the party, he held Mao Zedong's correct views in high esteem but was ridiculed by some people because of this. He frankly said, "I will follow whoever has the truth in his hands."<sup>17</sup> At the Lushan Meeting, when Peng Dehuai's "Opinion Letter" that criticized the Great Leap Forward was attacked and the atmosphere grew tense, some comrades repeatedly reminded Zhang Wentian that he should say nothing more about the drawbacks of the Great Leap Forward. Rather than sidestepping the issue and trimming his sails, Zhang Wentian delivered a three-hour speech based on facts. He made a clean breast of the views he had formed through investigations and studies, and on the basis of careful deliberations, and pointed out sharply and clearly the "left" mistakes that existed at that time. With the interests of the party and the people in mind, he gave Mao Zedong his sincere criticism. For this, he was erroneously criticized and was subject to unjust treatment. But he did not regret having done this. He said, "Even in feudal society, people were encouraged to rebuke elders or superiors without any regard for their status. Can we Communists be afraid of doing so?"<sup>18</sup> "I am a Communist and should tell the truth."<sup>19</sup> After the Lushan Meeting, he continued to search high and low for the truth and put pen to paper. His writings became our party's precious spiritual wealth. The dauntless spirit of respecting the facts and upholding the truth demonstrated by Zhang Wentian in carrying out investigations and studies is worthy of our heartfelt esteem and conscientious emulation.

4. Setting an example by practicing what he preached. Zhang Wentian not only attached importance to and persisted in investigation and study himself, but also used this materialist style and method of work to influence the comrades around him and to educate his own subordinates. Citing his own experiences as examples, he often earnestly advised those around him to draw lessons from his dogmatist mistakes. He drew inspiration from the example set by Mao Zedong in going deep into the realities of life, maintaining close ties to the masses, and paying attention to investigation and study, and he used this experience to educate other comrades. In 1944, as editor in chief of *CANKAO ZILIAO*, published by the Research Center for Political Affairs under the Central Committee, he often reminded the secretary and other editors that they must proceed from the truth when reflecting problems and must support their arguments with evidence. After his transfer to the northeast in 1946, whether in suppressing bandits and opposing imperialism, or carrying out the land reform, or conducting the work of urban administration, he always insisted that decisions should be made only after investigation. Through his earnest efforts to practice what he preached, and through his repeated advocacy, investigation and study became a common practice throughout Hejiang Province, from the provincial party committee down to the county party organs. He upheld and publicized investigation and study all his life and his rural survey on

northern Shaanxi and his economic survey on the northeast are considered by many as the models for investigation reports. His "Account of Departure and Return," which was written on the basis of practice, was a brilliant exposition on the basic attitude to be adopted by Communists toward investigation and study, and the basic approach to investigation and study. It can still be regarded as a standard text. While working for the party over a long period of time, he had also fostered for the party a large number of cadres who attached importance to investigation and study and who went deep into the realities of life to maintain close ties to the masses. Zhang Wentian thus made outstanding contributions to the building of the party's ideological line and work style.

### III. Inspiration We Have Drawn From Zhang Wentian's Thought and Practice in Connection With Investigation and Study

After we have studied in relatively great depth Zhang Wentian's thought and practice in connection with investigation and study, we come to the following realization. When he lacked an understanding of the importance of investigations and studies, he could not help making subjectivist and metaphysical mistakes and inevitably ran into snags in his work, thereby inflicting losses on the revolutionary cause. When he went deep into the realities of life to conduct investigations and studies, he was able to do things in accordance with materialist dialectics, achieve high proficiency in work, and make outstanding contributions to the revolutionary cause. This sharp contrast in the same person tells us how important it is to our work and our cause to persist in carrying out investigations and studies and proceeding from reality in everything.

The typical significance of Zhang Wentian's experience also lies in the fact that it epitomizes the experiences and lessons of China's revolution and socialist construction. When we dogmatized Marxism, sanctified the experience of other countries, did not attach any importance to investigation and study, and separated from the reality of China's revolution and construction, the cause of revolution and construction got bogged down and suffered setbacks. When we attached importance to investigation and study, proceeded from the concrete reality of China's revolution and construction in everything, and adapted Marxism to Chinese conditions, revolution and construction moved from setback to victory and our cause developed without a hitch. This law was so authoritative that no one was above its restrictions. It can thus be seen that upholding investigation and study and combining Marxism with the reality of China's revolution and construction are the key to the success of China's revolution and construction.

Zhang Wentian's experience in investigation and study is of immense practical significance in the new historical period. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has, after correcting its ideological line and combining Marxism with conditions in China, formulated a basic line and a series of major



principles and policies for building socialism with Chinese characteristics in the primary stage of socialism, thereby providing a fundamental guarantee for socialist modernization in China. However, in order to implement this basic party line to the letter and translate the blueprint of socialist modernization into reality, investigations and studies must be carried out. Whether or not investigations and studies have been carried out sufficiently is also a decisive factor in the success or failure of socialist modernization. The reason is that only by fostering the practice of investigations and studies can our cadres, particularly leading cadres at various levels, effectively grasp China's conditions, always keep cool heads, and fundamentally prevent the recurrence of excessive "left" sentiments, overhastiness, and overheating. Only by fostering the practice of investigation and study can we fully grasp the conditions of our country, province, county, and township; combine the party's line, principles and policies with the actual conditions in our department or unit; and ensure their correct implementation. Only by fostering the practice of investigation and study will our cadres regularly go down to the grassroots units and go deep into the realities of life, always maintain and develop flesh-and-blood ties to the masses, maintain their inherent qualities of plain living and hard struggle, and frustrate the plot of peaceful evolution engineered by anticommunist and antisocialist forces at home and abroad. It was precisely for this reason that the "Decision on Strengthening the Ties Between the Party and the People," adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, specifically required leading cadres at all levels to "spare some time each year to carry out investigations at selected places, dissect 'sparrows,' and derive wisdom and nourishment from the masses in order to promote work in the whole area." "In light of the characteristics and requirements of their work, organs at and above the county level should organize cadres at their posts to take turns going down to grassroots units through diverse means, such as special investigations, the tackling of salient problems, and training leave. They are to formulate plans for institutionalizing this practice and persevere in this practice." The "Decision" also stressed the following in particular: "When cadres go down to the grassroots units, they must stress tangible results and guard against formalism. They must truly mix with the masses, treat the masses on an equal footing, be willing pupils of the masses, and must not have too high an opinion of themselves. They must thoroughly understand the actual situation and truthfully report to the higher authorities. On no account must they resort to deception. They must consult with the local cadres and masses when matters arise, do more concrete things, and show concern for the well-being of the masses." These struck home the current ills. In response to the call of the Sixth Plenary Session, let us take Zhang Wentian as our model in carrying forward and developing our party's fine traditions of seeking truth from facts and maintaining close ties to the masses, and his fine work style of going deep into the realities of life to conduct investigations and studies, rally still more closely round, and unite

with, the people of various nationalities, and steadily push forward our cause of socialist modernization.

#### Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Zhang Wentian*, People's Publishing House, August 1985, first edition, p. 317.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 324-325.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 340.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 592.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 569.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 593.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 570.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 340.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
15. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 1, p. 267.
16. *Selected Works of Zhang Wentian*, p. 327.
17. *In Memory of Zhang Wentian*, Hunan People's Publishing House, July 1985, first edition, p. 5.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 324.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

#### Democratic Centralism Is the Basic Organizational Principle for a Marxist Political Party—Also on Comrade Hu Jiwel's View of 'Tolerance for Different Factions and Different Lines Within the Party'

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[Article by Luo Shugang (7170 2885 0474)]

[Text] Upholding democratic centralism is the fundamental principle for the theory of building a Marxist party. Since the very beginning of its establishment, the principle has been censured, attacked, and slandered from various quarters. Especially when our country was swamped by bourgeois liberalization over the past few years, attacks against democratic centralism were even more rife and rampant and also confused some of our comrades. Therefore, making clear how to understand and approach democratic centralism is of immediate significance and prime importance.

## I

The principle of democratic centralism embodies the unity of a high degree of democracy and a high degree of centralization. Its main content comprises the following key points: 1) Every party member is equal in status within the party, but the minority should submit to the majority when major decisions are made. 2) While enjoying substantial democratic rights within the party, every party member should be subordinated to organizational discipline and the organization's decisions. 3) Party organizations at a lower level are independent and responsible for their work and also should accept leadership from higher party organizations. 4) Leadership organs at different levels of the party are established through election; they yield to collective leadership and regularly report their work to the higher authorities. 5) The elected party Central Committee "has full powers to exercise leadership over ideology and practical work"; at the same time, it submits itself to supervision of the whole party.

Why a Marxist political party needs democratic centralism is determined, first, by its nature. As the vanguard of the working class, a Marxist political party represents the essential interests of the working class and broad masses of the people. Therefore, it must constantly absorb their wisdom and experience, always maintain close ties to the broad masses of the people, and give full play to the enthusiasm and creativeness of party organizations at different levels and all party members. To achieve it, there must be a high degree of democracy within the party. At the same time, as the vanguard of the working class, the party should also reflect a strong sense of organization, and discipline, a characteristic of the working class, should have a unified will and action formed on the basis of Marxism, and practice a high degree of centralization within itself. Only when a high degree of democracy is organically combined with a high degree of centralization, namely, exercising democratic centralism, can the progressive nature of a Marxist political party be incarnated to the full. The nature of the party determines the organizational principles of the party, and in turn, the nature of the party should be guaranteed by the organizational principles of the party. If democratic centralism is disrupted, the nature of the party as the vanguard of the working class is wrecked. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has profoundly pointed out, if democratic centralism cannot be well applied, the party, the state, and socialism may change its nature. This is all the same to cadres and individuals.

Second, why a Marxist political party needs democratic centralism is determined by its historical mission. The historical mission for a Marxist political party is to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat capitalism, build socialism, and finally emancipate all of mankind and materialize the communist social system. To accomplish the historical mission, the party should formulate a series of lines, principles, and policies to suit the needs of different stages. On the one hand, when the party's lines, principles, and policies are

formulated, democracy should be extended, party members should fully participate in the work, and the party's policymaking should be democratized and done in a scientific manner so that the correctness of the party's lines, principles, and policies can be ensured. On the other hand, when the party's lines, principles, and policies are implemented, the whole party is required to maintain a high degree of unity in thinking and action so that the party's correct policies can be soundly implemented, not distorted; each party organization cannot go its own way. Therefore, only by unifying a high degree of democracy with a high degree of centralization within the party, namely, by exercising democratic centralism, can the party's historical tasks in different stages be guaranteed.

Third, historical experience of the international communist movement has told us that so long as the unity of democracy and centralization is insisted upon, a Marxist political party is bound to unite internally, have a powerful combat effectiveness, and grow in strength; and if the unity of democracy and centralization is disrupted, the party is bound to be weak and slack, to be split and lose its fighting capacity. While speaking of intraparty democracy, Marx and Engels always emphasized not ignoring intraparty centralization; and, while talking about intraparty centralization, they also stressed never ignoring intraparty democracy. However, revisionists of the Second International always indulged in empty talk about intraparty democracy, opposed correct intraparty centralization, and spared no effort to vilify democratic centralism. Bernstein, Kautsky, and their like viewed democratic centralism as a great scourge and stopped at nothing to denounce and rail at it. When fighting with revisionists of the Second International, Lenin, inheriting the thought of Marx and Engels, clearly elaborated the relationship between the party's organizational unity and its ideological unanimity, noting that the party's ideological unanimity is guaranteed by organizational unity of materials. Also, for the first time, he used democratic centralism to summarize the ideas of Marx and Engels on the dialectical unity of intraparty democracy and intraparty centralization, regarded democratic centralism as the party's organizational principle, and gradually established a complete organizational system for the party, with democratic centralism as the nucleus.

For long years, our party creatively adhered to the principle of democratic centralism, guaranteeing its ceaseless growth. Of course, historically our party also experienced painful lessons of disrupted democratic centralism. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has made tremendous efforts to improve and perfect democratic centralism and, generally speaking, the efforts have proved successful. Nevertheless, democratic centralism has yet to be thoroughly applied in party life. The reasons are first, the influence of vestiges of feudal ideology and small producer's individualistic aversion to discipline; second, the unchecked spread of the bourgeois liberalization trend of thought over the past few years, which has

destroyed either democracy or centralization; and, third, that the smooth implementation of democratic centralism at the present stage still needs a concrete system and procedure that can help gradually establish and perfect democratic centralism. The above reasons determine that to perfect democratic centralism is a long process. If we fail to understand this and think that as long as democratic centralism is established, all violations of democratic centralism will be swept away once and for all, then we simplify a complicated problem. We should see that implementation of democratic centralism is the superiority of our party, and also that to implement and perfect democratic centralism is an arduous and long-term task.

## II

To correctly apply democratic centralism, we should oppose not only undemocratic phenomena but also decentralized phenomena within the party. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has been faced with the task of restoring and developing democracy within the party because it was wrecked in the past. However, how to develop democracy within the party has met with some categorically different thoughts. The overwhelming majority of party members believe that, to develop democracy within the party, we should make persistent and ceaseless efforts to improve and strengthen democratic centralism. For example, democratic rights of party members should be truly ensured when party discipline is emphasized; the right to have reservations for the minority should be safeguarded when the principle that the minority should submit to the majority is stressed; the initiative in work of organizations at a lower level should be aroused in the principle that organizations at a lower level should be subordinated to the higher organizations; and different forms of supervision should be earnestly strengthened over leadership organizations at different levels when the authority of leadership organizations at different levels, and especially of the central leadership, is stressed. In addition to this, it is necessary to perfect in real earnest the systems of democratic election within the party, democratic supervision, and the party's collective leadership. Only when democratic centralism is further improved and ideological education in democratic centralism is augmented can democracy within the party be developed steadily. However, some people do not think so. They set the development of intraparty democracy against the adherence to democratic centralism, maintaining that only by amending and even negating democratic centralism can intraparty democracy be extended. As a result, these people derived wrong conclusions.

First, some people said that the organizational principle for the party should not be democratic centralism but should be the practice of democracy, and that there is no need to stress centralization because democracy itself has the meaning of centralization. Others said that democratic centralism was the outcome of the revolutionary war years, it is generally not applicable during

peacetime, and intraparty democracy should be adopted during peacetime. The substitution of intraparty democracy for democratic centralism is in no way a change in wording but is a change in the nature of the organizational principle. Using so-called intraparty democracy as a substitute for democratic centralism is bound to call off the basic duties that party members must fulfill for the party, abolish the bounds of discipline that party organizations keep their members within and disciplinary measures against violations of party members, and cancel strict procedures for recruitment of new party members and requirements for party members, thereby turning the party into a club that has no strict restrictions for entry and into a loose organization in which ideological confusion surrounds and each goes his own way.

Only when there is the unity of a high degree of democracy and a high degree of centralization, namely, the implementation of democratic centralism, can party members think and act in unison on the basis of Marxism. In other words, the only way to apply democratic centralism is to effectively develop intraparty democracy and maintain unity of the party.

Second, some people maintained and even advertised that there should be different factions and different lines within the party. Comrade Hu Jiwei openly advocated such a point of view. In his view, our party committed serious errors and launched the Cultural Revolution 17 years after the founding of the republic just because "there were no different factions and different lines."<sup>1</sup> He expressed deep-felt regret over the matter. According to his view, if different factions and different lines could coexist, contend, and compete with each other, then the "rule by the voice of one man alone" could be avoided. In our opinion, first of all, the general description he made of our party 17 years after the founding of the republic is wrong. Indeed, under some circumstances undemocratic phenomena were serious within our party, but the conclusion made on the whole 17 years did not tally with the facts. Second, such a conclusion drawn from the past abnormal practice of democracy within the party cannot be established. In terms of organizational principles, the abnormal practice of democracy within the party can be corrected only by strengthening democratic centralism, not by placing hopes on the so-called "constraint" of factions. It must be known that once the embankment of democratic centralism is burst, we will inevitably face a situation in which factions will emerge in great numbers like the torrent of a flood, and the party will lose its cohesiveness and fighting capacity and will not be able to work as a nucleus force of leading the people to carry out socialist construction. Does the presence of different factions and different lines within the party really lead the party to a normal democratic life just as Comrade Hu Jiwei said? The answer must be negative. Whenever a proletarian political party falls into the whirlpool of factional strife, it will be controlled by the law of factional strife independent of man's will. As is known to all, factional strife is always very cruel, in which democracy, equality, and even truth are just



fantastic talk. For their own interests, different factions always resort to every conceivable means. Especially in an environment shaped in the history and reality of China, different kinds of feudal, petit bourgeois, and bourgeois ideas and trends are bound to be reflected and embodied in factional strife; if so, centralization, unity, and normal democratic life are all out of the question. People may still remember that the appearance of numerous factions in the Cultural Revolution resulted in an internal disorder, which did not help realize intraparty democracy, but was used by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the gang of four and led our party, country, and people to a calamity and disaster. We do not know why Comrade Hu Jiwei, who seems to bitterly hate the Cultural Revolution, is ardent in lauding this.

Comrade Hu Jiwei also quoted Comrade Mao Zedong's remarks to prove that it is necessary and reasonable to allow the existence of factions inside the party. He said, "Comrade Mao Zedong once said it would be unimaginable if there was no faction inside the party, and it would be an emperor's thinking to hope that there were no other parties outside the party. He also said that it was a constant fact that other parties exist outside the party and factions exist inside the party." According to Hu Jiwei, this was a "demonstration of Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant thinking."<sup>2</sup> Lenin said, "The absolute requirement of Marxist theory is to place the issue in a certain historical scope." If we consider the above-mentioned remarks by Comrade Mao Zedong against the historical background, in my view we may find that Comrade Hu Jiwei adopted a pragmatic approach toward what Comrade Mao Zedong said. First, as we all know, Comrade Mao Zedong made those remarks when he incorrectly launched the Cultural Revolution. At that time, he exaggerated the seriousness of the different opinions inside the party and described the differences as the "struggle between two classes, two roads, and two lines," and he even asserted that a "bourgeois headquarters" existed inside the party. That was exactly what he meant by saying that factions existed inside the party, and it constituted the major grounds for launching the Cultural Revolution. This idea was long ago negated by the "Resolution on Several Historical Questions of the Party since the Founding of the PRC." It was strange that Hu Jiwei, a person who seemed to be irreconcilable with the "leftist" mistakes, even took Comrade Mao Zedong's remarks about factions inside the party as the manifestation of his "brilliant thinking." Second, even though Comrade Mao Zedong affirmed the existence of factions inside the party, did he endorse this? I do not think so. On the contrary, his purpose in affirming the fact was to tell other people to face it squarely and carry out struggle against it. So he even did not hesitate to resort to the form of "mass democracy." In fact, when correctly appraising the situation inside the party, Comrade Mao Zedong was consistently opposed to the factional activities inside the party. In the 1942 Yanan

Rectification, he called on the party to oppose sectarianism and the mountain-stronghold mentality. Therefore, it was quite ridiculous to use Comrade Mao Zedong's remarks to justify the existence of factions inside the party, because this simply misrepresented his real idea.

Third, some people opposed the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority under the excuse of protecting the minority. It is true that our party constitution stipulates the need to respect the opinions of the minority and to allow the minority to make reservations under the premise of implementing the resolutions adopted by the majority and present their own views through various organizational channels. Admittedly, due to the influence of the "leftist" guideline in the past, some abnormal actions were taken to punish the comrades who adhered to their minority opinions. This should be corrected. However, in a previous period, some people advocated the principle of protecting the minority not only for the purpose of allowing the minority to make reservations, but also for the purpose of allowing them to refuse to carry out the resolutions adopted by the majority. This went completely against the party's principle of democratic centralism. The subordination of the minority to the majority is a major point of principle in the system of democratic centralism, and other principles can be regarded as being derived from this basic point. If a small number of party members can refuse to implement the resolutions adopted by the majority, then there will be no subordination of the minority to the majority and the system of democratic centralism will be completely negated. If a small number of party members are allowed to disrupt the implementation of the party resolutions, then the democratic rights of the majority of party members will just be trampled upon and the results of the exercise of their democratic rights will be thus ruined. How can this be described as intraparty democracy? Even if the opinion of the minority is correct, they must still follow the system of democratic centralism in order that their opinion can be more easily understood and accepted by other party members.

Among people who tried to negate the system of democratic centralism, a very small number of people stubbornly stuck to bourgeois liberalization. They attempted to change the party's character and overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party through attacking the system of democratic centralism. Some other people mixed up the principle of democratic centralism itself with the nondemocratic phenomena in the course of implementing this principle, attributed the nondemocratic phenomena in a certain degree to the principle of democratic centralism itself, and thus reached the erroneous conclusion that democratic centralism should be negated. We should thoroughly expose the sinister aim of the first category of people, and should give more effective education to the second category of people and help them understand that the existence of a certain degree of nondemocratic phenomena inside our party was caused



by the fact that the system of democratic centralism was not properly carried out and was not caused by the system itself. Our historical and current experience shows that whenever the system of democratic centralism is carried out properly, intraparty democracy will develop and nondemocratic phenomena inside the party will decrease; on the contrary, whenever the system of democratic centralism is not properly carried out, intraparty democracy will be repressed. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, intraparty democracy has been substantially developed, and this is precisely the result of the proper implementation of the system of democratic centralism. In this period, some comrades, such as Comrade Zhao Ziyang, committed mistakes of supporting the turmoil, splitting the party, and adding fuel to the turmoil and the revolt; a major reason in the aspect of the organizational principle was that they fundamentally violated the system of democratic centralism.

### III

In the long period of intraparty political life, our party has established a systematic way to implement the system of democratic centralism; that is, to conduct centralization on the basis of democracy and to conduct democracy under centralized guidance. This is the brilliant generalization of the dialectical and united relationship between democracy and centralism. A high degree of democracy inside the party will certainly lead to the unified will of the majority in the whole party, and such unified will is represented by the centralized leadership of the party center. The party center then applies the whole party's unified will to further develop intraparty democracy and guide and standardize such democracy. This is the so-called centralized guidance to democracy. In this process, the more extensive the intraparty democracy is, the more correct the party's centralized leadership will be; then, the more correct the party's centralized leadership is, the more effective the guidance to intraparty democracy will be, and greater impetus will be given to the development of intraparty democracy. Therefore, only by consistently adhering to centralism based on democracy and adhering to democracy under centralized guidance can we coordinate and harmonize a high degree of intraparty democracy and a high degree of centralism.

In view of the present conditions inside our party, some problems still exist in the relationship between democracy and centralization. In some cases, democracy is insufficient; in other cases, centralization is insufficient. Therefore, we should continue to develop democracy and at the same time also intensify centralization. On this issue, we should pay attention to overcoming two incorrect approaches.

First, some people think that intraparty democracy went too far in the previous period, and should now be "tightened up." Admittedly, in the course of developing democracy in the previous period, centralization was indeed weakened and the tendencies of decentralism and

liberalism did appear inside the party. However, we should not thus assert that intraparty democracy has gone too far; instead, the problem appeared in some people's view of democracy. We should know that decentralism and liberalism can never be equated with democracy; they just represent ultra-democracy and the corruption and abuse of democracy. In fact, in the aspect of developing democracy, our task remains arduous. In some localities, the practice of individual leaders making major decisions, the democratic rights of party rank and file being trampled upon, and intraparty supervision being imperfect have not been completely changed. In some localities, the problems remain rather serious. Therefore, we must continue to develop intraparty democracy. In this regard, we should strengthen education in democratic centralism and help party members and especially party cadres to establish a true sense of democracy that is different from anarchism and bourgeois liberalization, consciously abide by the party's constitution, regulations, and systems, and consciously subject themselves to intraparty supervision. On the other hand, it is also necessary to establish and perfect the intraparty democratic systems. At present, it is particularly necessary to emphasize the establishment and improvement of some concrete systems and rules for guaranteeing the implementation of the system of democratic centralism and for increasing effectiveness in the operation of this system.

Second, when seeing that our party is now adopting some measures for increasing centralization and correcting the tendencies of decentralism and liberalism, some comrades consider this as repressing rather than developing intraparty democracy. This opinion is incorrect too. Strengthening correct centralization does not go against the aim of developing democracy. The two sides do not offset one another. Intraparty democracy needs to be guaranteed by correct centralization inside the party. If the party's correct centralization is disrupted, intraparty democracy will also be disrupted. For example, safeguarding the party center's correct decisionmaking authority is a kind of centralization. Correct decisions are made on the basis of fully developing democracy and concentrating the wishes of the party rank and file and the masses. So the smooth implementation of the correct decision itself is the demonstration of the democratic rights of the party members, and is a way to protect intraparty democracy. If one carries out the party center's correct policy decisions only when one likes them and refuses to carry out the policy decisions when one does not like them, then one's practice will violate the will of the party rank and file and trample upon their democratic rights. Therefore, safeguarding the authority of the party center and strengthening correct centralization inside the party will also result in developing intraparty democracy.

At present, the tendencies of decentralism and liberalism inside the party are reflected mainly in various aspects of intraparty activities. Therefore, it is necessary to stress intraparty centralization in both the ideological and

organizational fields. In the ideological field, we should use the party's basic line to unify the whole party's thinking and to oppose bourgeois liberalization. The ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is greatly harmful to intraparty democracy, as it is aimed at undermining intraparty democracy in the name of advocating democracy. The advocates of bourgeois liberalization were keen on carrying out so-called "elite democracy" and called for "letting some people first enjoy more democracy" so that they could liberally practice capitalism and thus wantonly negate the free and democratic selection of socialism and the Communist Party's leadership made by the majority of party members and the masses. Therefore, in order to safeguard and develop intraparty democracy, we must adhere to the four cardinal principles, oppose bourgeois liberalization, and respect the will of the majority of party members. In the organizational field, we must safeguard the solemnity of the party constitution, the "Norms for Intraparty Political Life," and other intraparty rules and regulations, and must ensure their serious implementation. In particular, we must resolutely overcome a perfunctory and utilitarian attitude toward the party's policy decisions. In order to strengthen intraparty centralization, we should also criticize all kinds of slanders and vilifications against the party's fine tradition, and should eliminate various evil tendencies. For example, we must refute some people's attacks against the spirit of being selfless and serving the people wholeheartedly and against Lei Feng's spirit; and we should also refute some people's fallacy that describes the behavior of abiding by discipline and obeying the job assignments by the party organizations as treating party rank and file as "tools." Those wrong ideas and erroneous opinions prevented us from effectively eliminating corrupt phenomena, the bureaucratic style of work, and various evil tendencies inside the party, and also had an unfavorable impact on our party's fine tradition. So we must, through strengthening intraparty centralization, overcome the negative and corrupt phenomena, the bureaucratic style of work, and various evil tendencies and carry forward our party's fine tradition.

We believe that so long as we seriously implement the system of democratic centralism, consistently keep the unity between a high degree of intraparty democracy and a high degree of centralization, and strengthen intraparty centralization while developing intraparty democracy, then we will be able to create a vigorous and lively situation in which there are both democracy and centralism inside the party, there are both freedom and discipline, and all party members share the unified will and have peace of mind.

#### Footnotes

1. "Fantasy of 'Liu Shaoqi's Line'" by Hu Jiwei, QIUSHI No. 2, [16 January] 1989.

2. Ibid.

### Work Hard To Make More Rapid Progress, and Do a Better Job in Reform and Opening Up

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[Article by Chen Guangyi, secretary, Fujian Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] After summing up its experience in the protracted revolution and construction, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has upheld an integration of universal truth of Marxism with China's actual situation, introduced reform and opening up to the party's basic line at the preliminary stage of socialism, and developed a new situation in the development of China's socialist cause. Fujian was one of those provinces that first opened up to the outside world. In reviewing our achievements over the past 11 years, we feel deeply that the principle of opening up is an absolutely correct one. In future, we must act more staunchly, make more rapid progress, and do a better job in opening up.

#### I

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Only when we implement policies concerning reform and opening up, and absorb the world's advanced science, technology, as well as experience, including capital, can we speed up the pace of constructing China."<sup>1</sup> In the contemporary world, no country can make any progress in a closed-door state. Particularly, in order to construct socialism on an economically backward foundation, a country needs to depend more on its foreign economic relations to strengthen its economic strength and to narrow the gap between it and the developed countries. Located in the coastal area of southeast China, Fujian is endowed with favorable natural conditions, and has frequent contacts with many Overseas Chinese because Taiwan is just across the Strait and the province is adjacent to Hong Kong and Macao. However, its economic base was weak and its development was slow because of historical reasons. It was one of China's underdeveloped provinces. After liberation, we earnestly implemented those special policies and flexible measures granted by the central authorities, so that the pace of economic construction was quickened, and we developed a new situation for the socialist cause. Over the past 11 years, the province's GNP and income were developing at respective annual rates of 10.9 and 11.4 percent, much higher than the growth rate of the previous 30 years. The ranking of its per capita income in China jumped from the 20th position to the 11th. The accumulated sum of local financial revenue over the past 11 years exceeded the sum of the previous years. The amount in 1989 was 2.5 times more than that in 1978. In 1987, the province succeeded in doubling its GNP, income, gross social output value, local financial revenue, and gross export volume. Compared to 1978, in 1989 the income received by each urban or rural resident and the net income received by each peasant were respectively increased by

3.1 and 4.1 times. After making provision for the factor of inflation, its average annual growth rate was also much higher than the level in the previous 30 years. The amount of savings deposits made by urban and rural residents was increased by 18.5 times. After the province spent three years helping its poor households, which accounted for 10 percent of the province's population, to put an end to the situation, 90 percent of them have basically solved their food and clothing problems.

A basic reason that Fujian could make such great changes just within a short span of 11 years is that, under the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee, it earnestly implemented the party's basic line, upheld the practice of "one center and two basic points," always took the development of production forces in society as a basic task of opening up, actively developed foreign economic relations on the basis of independence and self-reliance, and used foreign capital and advanced technology to promote a continuous, steady, and coordinated development in the national economy.

Its economic strength was reinforced after it opened up to the outside world, actively used foreign capital, and strengthened its capital construction. Accumulation of capital was an important condition to speed up economic development. Since the industrial base of Fujian was backward and local financial revenue was weak, it was impossible to promptly put an end to the situation by simply relying on state investment and accumulation of its own capital. Therefore, we must make full use of the favorable conditions of opening up, and actively use foreign capital as a major source of construction capital. By the end of 1989, the province concluded agreements on the use of foreign investment worth a cumulative amount of \$2.789 billion. The actual amount of foreign capital being used was \$1.339 billion, which was used mainly for the construction of basic facilities, basic industries, and agriculture. After the province opened up to the outside, we carried out active work to raise funds from both domestic and overseas sources, strengthened the construction of basic facilities such as energy, transportation, posts, and telecommunication. In total, we invested as much as 7.746 billion yuan, or more than double the sum of investment over the previous 30 years, in such areas, so that such basic facilities were greatly improved. At the same time, there were more than 3,000 "three-capital" enterprises established in the province, including 1,400 that had been put into operation, and promoted development in the corresponding trades. As a result, a group of new key industrial enterprises have emerged. At present, the gross output value of these "three-capital" enterprises has exceeded that of the whole province by 20 percent. This also played a significant role in strengthening its status of being an agricultural base. Recently, through the use of foreign capital, the province has promoted the development of agricultural resources and has imported from more than 30 countries and regions a large quantity of improved breeds, as well as better technology and equipment. Consequently, its agriculture saw a rapid development.

Over the past decade, the gross output value of agriculture increased by 7.1 percent per year, or 100 percent higher than the growth rate in the previous 30 years. Last year, the province's output of grain reached a record high after making successive increases of output for several years.

Imports of advanced technology promoted a readjustment of its industrial composition and upgrading of products. In the past, the industrial base of Fujian Province was so backward that not only was its production scale small, but it also had an irrational industrial composition and was marked by poor quality, low-class goods and outdated technology and equipment. The percent of technology and equipment that had been adopted in the 1940's and 1950's was about 70 percent. We used such imported technology to transform the traditional industries, and took it as a key point. Furthermore, we strived to apply it to the province's situation from our viewpoint when importing such advanced technology, so that the pace of technological transformation among existing enterprises was rather rapid. Since the province opened up to the outside, it has approved a total of more than 1,200 contracts for the import of technology, involving a total amount of \$600 million, or about 35 percent of the province's total investment in technological transformation during the same period. As a result, more than half of the province's old enterprises were transformed. About one-third of the technology and equipment so imported was up to the international standards of the late 1970's and early 1980's. Through technological transformation, these enterprises yielded better economic results. According to the estimates of statistics departments, after the province carried out reforms and opening up, about one-third of its newly increased gross value of industrial output was brought about by the imported technology. Such import of advanced technology not only has promoted a transformation of traditional industries, but also has enlivened the rise of new industries such as electronics, chemical industry, new materials, and raw materials, as well as the development of new products. Development of electronics as a new industry was the most rapid in Fujian. At present, a number of key electronics enterprises have been formed. Their output value was only some 100 million yuan in 1978, but it reached 2,612 million yuan in 1989.

The development of an exporting economy has strengthened the province's ability to generate foreign exchange. To expand the generation of foreign exchange through exports is an important sign indicating a greater participation in the international economy by the province. It is also a key to further using foreign capital and strengthening the foreign economic relations. For this reason, we developed the international market as we developed production and increased the items for export. We stressed the construction of a base for major export commodities such as electric machinery, textiles, canned food, tea, aquatic products, sports shoes. While consolidating and developing the production of those traditionally major export products, we actively developed new



ones that were in great demand in the international market. At present, there are more than 20 kinds of "fist" commodities that are export to generate foreign exchange. Town and township enterprises played a positive role in foreign-exchange generation, and managed to achieve a "large-scale foreign-exchange generation with small commodities on a larger market." Putian is now a "shoes city." Last year, it generated some \$100 million by producing shoes. We attached great importance to the intensive processing, precision making, and packaging of commodities, and the improvement in quality and grade of export products. We also optimized the composition of export commodities and produced commodities that yielded better added value, were competitive, and for which demand was highly elastic. In 1989, the total amount of foreign exchange generated by the province through exports was \$1.66 billion, or 7.7 times higher than the level in 1978 when the province was not yet opened up.

The practice of opening up to the outside has promoted the acceptance of new thinking and ideology, and has offered training for qualified personnel. Amidst the ever-increasing foreign economic activities, people have become more knowledgeable, their field of vision has widened, they have access to new ideas, and a better understanding of the socialist commodity economy, reforms, and opening up. They have gradually developed new practices of stressing efficiency and fair competition and of respecting knowledge and qualified personnel. In practice, people constantly improved their ability to absorb advanced foreign science and technology, developed their capability to handle practical work. Hence, there emerged a group of technological and management personnel who had a strong sense of socialist political awareness, were informed about new knowledge, were bold in development, and were good at business operations; and the quality of personnel in charge of foreign economic relations and trade was improved. Through the work of opening up, people understood more about the bright future of socialism. They loved the Communist Party more, supported socialism, and voluntarily worked hard to maintain a stable and united political situation.

## II

To carry out the work of opening up is a new undertaking of China's socialist construction. There is neither a precedent case nor a reference for us to copy indiscriminately. In carrying out the work, Fujian insisted on the approach of proceeding from reality and closely integrated central principles and policies with the province's actual situation. In 1986, the provincial CPC Committee convened an expanded congress, and formally adopted decisions on its strategic planning, that is, to promptly speed up the pace of reform and opening up, and to greatly develop an export economy. Through our work over the years, we have made remarkable achievements in the work of opening up, though there are still many difficulties. Under the current situation of rectification and consolidation, we must continue to uphold the

practice of seeking truth from facts and continue to explore as well as speed up development based on our present experience.

**1. To make a rational distribution and give play to our advantages, so as to promote joint development between the coastal areas and the mountainous areas.** Fujian is one of the coastal provinces. Nevertheless, many regions of the province are different from each other in terms of economic conditions and level of development. In developing an export economy, we must use our strong points to make up for our weak ones, make progress step by step, and strive for a joint development. Coastal areas have many favorable conditions for the work of opening up, such as convenient transportation, easy access to information, frequent contacts with Overseas Chinese, better economic foundation, and a better understanding of commodities. Moreover, each of the coastal areas must, according to their level of development and advantages, develop their distinctive export economies, and make measures suit their situation. Xiamen was one of China's first four special economic zones. With its efforts in recent years, it has basically formed a comprehensive special export economy led by industry. Last year, the industrial output value achieved by its "three-capital" enterprises accounted for 48 percent of Xiamen's industrial output value. Its output value of products exported by industrial enterprises accounted for 36 percent of its gross industrial output value. On the basis of an economic and technology development zone, and by integrating the import of foreign capital and technology with the transformation of old enterprises, Fuzhou sped up the pace of developing its export economy. Both Quanzhou and Putian emphasized their advantages of abundant sources of capital from Overseas Chinese and having an easy access to information; and they developed town and township enterprises that engaged mainly in exporting industries. Zhangzhou stressed foreign exchange generation by developing agriculture. These helped promote the development of export economies. At the same time, we emphasized doing well in the work of establishing internal links and promoting regional economic cooperation, which was also an important aspect of our development of the export economy. We encouraged the coastal areas to use their technology, capital, and information to develop into the interior part of China and to develop economic cooperation with the mountainous areas of inland China. Eventually, a number of bases developed for the processing of agricultural and sideline products and for the production of raw materials for industrial use. We also encouraged these mountainous areas to set up outlets in the special economic zone so as to promote development and construction, and to turn their strong points in natural resources to advantages in commodity production and export.

**2. To expand foreign economic relations in a flexible manner.** Today, when international activities among various countries are becoming internationalized, there seems to be a bright future for us to become part of the

international division of labor. Due to regionalization of international trade and economic cooperation and an ever-increasing trend toward formation of international economic organizations, protectionism has become more serious. This had made cooperation in international economic relations and trade a risky business and has brought difficulties to our development of an export economy. Only when we strengthen our market research, always explore and try to understand the science of international economic development, and establish foreign economic relations in diversified forms, will we strengthen our adaptability and promote development in the export economy. First, we made use of foreign capital in a diversified manner. In connection with the characteristics of banks and the wishes of foreign businessmen, we absorbed indirect investment by raising funds through foreign governments and international financial institutions in the form of loans, bonds and share certificates, international leasing, and compensation trade, which were internationally accepted, while devoting major efforts to absorbing direct investment by developing whole foreign-owned enterprises, Chinese-foreign joint-equity ventures, and Chinese-foreign cooperative ventures. At present, Fujian has established business relations with more than 100 banks and other financial institutions from over 60 countries and regions. Of them nine foreign-funded banking institutions, as well as a Chinese-foreign joint-venture bank, started doing business in Xiamen and set up offices in Fuzhou. Second, we located varied sources of foreign capital. In the wake of development in the work of opening up, as well as changes in the world's economic situation, the province constantly enlarged its sources of foreign capital and its use of such capital. In the early days after the province was opened up, it focused mainly on the Hong Kong and Macao regions. To date, its capital comes from some 30 countries and regions. Moreover, Overseas Chinese, Hong Kong compatriots, Taiwan compatriots, and foreigners have tended to join together to invest in the province. Third, we imported technology of different levels. Import of technology must be done from a low level to a high one. It must correspond to the current level of production development and must conform to the state's industrial policies and the demand of the international market. Therefore, when we imported technology, we acted in accordance with the actual situation in different trades and regions. Town and township enterprises offered more opportunities for the rural laborers by importing more suitable technology and equipment, large and medium-sized enterprises, which had better technological strength, imported technology with higher standards. The latter mainly imported technology and equipment with standards up to the world's advanced level in the 1980's. At the same time, they stressed the import of technology that helped develop the export business so as to strengthen our level of competitiveness on the international market. With a higher level of education in science and technology, both Xiamen and Fuzhou Cities should try to import more high-tech industries, and gradually set up their science parks. The import of technology was also a process of development

from a low level to a high one, from the import of mainly standalone machines in the early days to that of advanced production lines and key equipment; from the import mainly of hardware to that of both hardware and software, as well as production techniques, formulas, and advanced management skills. In addition, we gradually transformed the practice of conducting "three forms of processing with imported materials, and compensation trade" to that of undertaking technology-intensive industries, and from assembling parts, or undertaking simple processing, to producing a whole machine or a series of products. Among those projects funded by foreign capital, the proportion of technologically advanced ones has been on the increase. Recently, as much as 10 percent of foreign capital was investment in high-technology projects. Fourth, we developed the international market through varied means and gradually established a sales network for the international market, which is an important aspect of our development of foreign trade. We paid attention to strengthening market research and constantly developed new products that were in great market demand. For this reason, we gradually expanded our outlet for export trade by making use of our frequent contacts with businessmen from overseas, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, who had connections with the international market. While we consolidated traditional markets in Hong Kong, Macao, Japan, and so on, we actively developed new markets in North America, Oceania, Africa, and East Europe, and established trade and technological contacts with more than 120 countries and regions. Fifth, we carried out foreign economic cooperation in many areas. While we actively developed foreign trade and the use of foreign capital, we devoted major effort to extensively carrying out foreign economic and technological cooperation in the forms of development of tourism, overseas contracts, export of laborers, and establishment of overseas enterprises. Within a period of three years, the amount of foreign exchange received by the province from overseas contracts, export of laborers, and tourism was increased by more than 100 percent. In 1989, the province's volume of overseas contracts and labor cooperation projects totaled \$143 million. Also, as many as 10,000 laborers were working overseas; and the amount of foreign exchange revenue derived from tourism increased by 9.2 percent.

**3. To strengthen management and to improve the economic results of the export economy.** In the wake of development of opening up, we paid more attention to the issue of economic results yielded by the work of importing foreign capital and technology. In particular, under the new circumstances where we are carrying out rectification and consolidation, the key to making the work of opening up and that of rectification and consolidation promote each other is to integrate the readjustment of composition of industries with the work of importing and the improvement of economic results, so as to maintain a continuous, steady, and coordinated development in the national economy as a whole. For



this reason, we strengthened macroeconomic management of importing, gave rational guidance on the direction of foreign investment, and stressed importing productive, technologically advanced, and export-oriented projects by observing relevant policies toward industries. After 1989, as many as 90 percent of those newly approved "three-capital" enterprises were productive ones, and about 80 percent of them were export-oriented ones. Thus, the character of technology was changed from being labor-intensive to being capital- and technology-intensive. At the same time, we carried out central planning, and guided foreign businessmen to make joint investments and to develop a vast territory of land. Foreign investment zones such as Rongqiao Industrial Zone of Fuqing, Luomahe Comprehensive Development Zone of Quanzhou, Dongshan Agricultural Investment Zone, and Meizhoudao Economic and Tourist Development Zone, and so on are under construction. In particular, beginning last year, the development of the Taiwan investment zone greatly sped up Fujian's pace of opening up. While strengthening the management of foreign investment, we actively helped the "three-capital" enterprises solve their problems, and provided them good services. At present, the financial situation of these enterprises is fine. Their foreign exchange revenue and expenditures are in black, and, with more profits made, they have delivered more and more taxes to the authorities with each passing year. In the import of technology, we did well in assimilating and developing technology, and we increase the use of locally produced materials in the production process. Only thus could we really improve the economic results.

**4. To develop education, science, and technology is an important strategic measure for doing well in the work of opening up.** The current international economic competition is essentially a competition of technology and qualified personnel. Therefore, we must take the development of education, science, and technology as a strategic measure for expanding the scale of opening up. To a very large extent, the development of the province's export economy depends on scientific and technological advancement, as well as the development of education. Over the years, we actively developed vocational education. We established a number of vocational universities, part-time colleges for workers, and vocational and technical schools. In addition, we readjusted the content of normal and higher education according to the requirements of the exporting economy; set up additional vocational facilities for courses concerning foreigners; and recruited students for such courses. The number of personnel in the province who have specialized in natural science has increased from 566 per 10,000 in 1978 to 968 per 10,000 at present. The number of personnel undertaking the work of foreign economic relations and trade is also sharply increased. At the same time, we attached great importance to technological training of workers, so as to cultivate a team of quality laborers for the development of our export economy. In the work of opening up, we paid attention to the role of promoting the development of our export economy by scientific and

technological personnel, and by scientific research units. Each year we sent 1,000 scientific and technological personnel to major sites of economic construction, so that more than 100 export-oriented research-production combines were established at these sites, thereby rapidly and effectively turning science and technology into production forces.

**5. To flexibly integrate reform with opening up, so as to promote each other.** Reform and opening up are ways of self-perfection and self-development under China's socialist system. Therefore, opening up is essentially an act of reform. While the work of opening up constantly raises issues for and promotes an in-depth development of reform, it is in turn promoted by such in-depth development, so that the two are interrelated and complement each other. Fujian is one of the provinces that practice special policies and flexible measures. It is also an experimental spot for comprehensive reforms. In observance of the strategic plans of the CPC Central Committee, we closely integrated reform with opening up, so that the two conformed with and matched each other. We strived to explore new systems and new mechanisms that conformed to the export economy. We constantly perfected the system of macroeconomic readjustment and control so as to create a sound environment and conditions for the work of opening up. First, we gave priority to the work of enlivening the financial sector, actively reformed the credit system, readjusted the credit structure, and strengthened guidance for the sector. Through the establishment of local banks, a foreign-funded bank for the special zone, and credit cooperatives on a trial basis, we expanded financing channels in both directions, to both the domestic and overseas markets. We also set up an exchange adjustment center and a securities market, and undertook insurance business for foreigners so as to make the financial sector better serve the export economy. Second, we promoted reforms in the system of export trade and carried out a full-scale contracted responsibility system for the trade, so as to gradually establish a mechanism for fair competition and to mobilize the initiative of localities and enterprises in generating foreign exchange through export. Through the forms of joint investment in and mutual establishment of export commodity bases, and the creation of an export risks fund, we promoted cooperation between industry and trade, between agriculture and trade, and between technology and trade. At the same time, we straightened out foreign trade companies, restored the order of foreign trade business, and set up a joint operating mechanism for dealing with foreigners. At present, it has formed a multilevel foreign trade system consisting of import-export companies, local foreign trade companies, industry-trade companies, and the "three-capital" enterprises, thereby strengthening its capacity for foreign-exchange generation. Third, we strengthened reform of enterprises, popularized the contracted responsibility system for trades, and boosted the vitality of enterprises. We formulated preferential policies, gave support to large and medium-sized enterprises in certain major areas, and gave full play to



the key role of state-run enterprises in the development of our export economy. At the same time, we established enterprise groups in the forms of shareholding, leasing, merging, and contracting by other enterprises. At present, there are more than 20 enterprise groups (companies) in the province undertaking important tasks of foreign trade and production. Fourth, we carried out corresponding reforms in the areas of planning, pricing, finance, materials, labor, science and technology, leasing of land sites, and gradually set up and developed markets for such production factors as capital, labor, and means of production.

### III

Comrade Li Peng pointed out, "No matter what changes happen in the world, we shall not close our open doors." At present, we must master all favorable conditions available to us in the world, overcome transient difficulties, and, on the basis of self-reliance, carry out the work of opening up in a more down-to-earth and effective manner. "The 1990's will be an important period for Fujian in terms of opening up and economic construction. During this period, the province's national economy must be further doubled on the basis of rectification, consolidation, and in-depth reforms. Its party construction, as well as the construction of socialist spiritual civilization must be further strengthened, and its stable and united political situation must be further consolidated and developed. All these require that we uphold the practice of "grasping the work in two directions." Under the prerequisite of upholding the four cardinal principles, we must carry out the work of opening up in a better way, continuously push a mutual promotion and coordinated development between construction of material civilization and that of spiritual civilization, and make progress in the direction of socialism marked with Chinese characteristics.

The situation of Fujian in opening up is a very good one. A global-scale readjustment of industrial composition, in particular the recent large-scale capital transfer out of Taiwan, have provided the province the opportune moment for developing its exporting economy. As people living in Fujian and Taiwan share the same language and customs and have a close relationship, it is highly possible that, in the wake of frequent contacts between the both sides of the Taiwan Straits, Fujian will become an ideal investment site for Taiwan businessmen. Some Taiwan businessmen have begun investing in the newly opened investment zones in Xiamen and Fuzhou, and some large-scale projects are either under construction or under negotiation. The prospects of Fujian-Taiwan economic cooperation are getting brighter, and Fujian will greet a flowering period of opening up. Therefore, we must further hold high the banner of opening up, further implement the central principle of opening up, and that of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems." We must devote major efforts to developing Fujian-Taiwan economic cooperation, continue to carry out the strategy of developing an export economy, and further increase the extent

of "opening up" in the province's GNP. Our experience in reform and opening up has shown that Fujian has great potential for developing an export economy. If we focus on the key points and make the best of the situation, we shall inevitably promote development in the province's national economy. In the wake of opening up, the following situation will gradually emerge: The delta area in southern Fujian, as well as all places across the province, will be developed and constructed as a result of development in the Xiamen Special Economic Zone; the Min Jiang basin will be developed as a result of development in Fuzhou and the area at the mouth of the river; central Fujian will be developed as a result of development in Meizhouwan; the coastal area will be developed as a result of development in the Fujian-Xiamen area; and all of the inland area will be developed as a result of development in the coastal area. We should devote major efforts to improving the investment environment, constructing basic facilities, constantly improving the quality and efficiency of services, and implementing preferential policies, so as to encourage foreign businessmen to invest in the province. Our guiding principle is that all Hong Kong, Macao, Overseas Chinese, Taiwan, and foreign businessmen are welcome to invest in large, medium-sized, or small projects; whether technological advanced ones or capital-intensive ones, which are encouraged to develop, or labor-intensive ones, which are welcome to develop; whether a simple project of plant construction or joint development of specified projects; whether an expansion of investment scale or an expansion of investment scope, particularly concerning the development of such areas as the raw materials industry, basic industries, and basic facilities; whether investment in new plants or transformation of old enterprises; and so forth. In other words, we shall strive to guide such businessmen to invest in a diversified manner. We must speed up the construction of the special economic zone, the economic and technology development zones, and Taiwan investment zones. We must run well the "three-capital" enterprises, strive to boost our capacity to generate foreign exchange through export, and actively develop economic and technology cooperation with foreigners. We should continue to do well in the work concerning Taiwan, Overseas Chinese, and foreign affairs; strengthen contacts with Overseas Chinese, compatriots in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, and people from all walks of life, and make new friends while staying on intimate terms with the old ones. The people of Fujian wish to establish in a direct manner the "three contacts" for both sides of the Taiwan Strait, to take the first step to expanding bilateral exchanges between the two sides, and to make their proper contributions to the goal of reunification of the motherland.

Comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out, "We must carry out reforms and opening up in a correct and improved manner, so that China's socialist economic system, as well as its political system, will be further perfected, and progress will be more rapid and a better job will be done in developing the national economy, and other social

undertakings.<sup>1,2</sup> Our work of opening up is the opening up of socialism. Only when we uphold the socialist direction and earnestly strengthen the construction of the party, and that of socialist spiritual civilization, can we ensure that the work of opening up is developing in a healthy direction, and that we shall succeed. We should realize that as we import foreign capital, advanced technology, and management skills, some capitalist corrupt thinking and living style seize the opportunity to infiltrate into China, developing negative effects in certain areas. Some people were influenced by the ideas of money worship and egoism. Some localities were hit by crimes such as smuggling and trafficking. Some localities were flooded by pornography and vulgar culture. There are possibilities that certain disgusting social phenomena will emerge, and so will some pessimistic, and corrupt phenomena in the party. Therefore, in the course of opening up, under no circumstances must we take a relaxed attitude toward the construction of the party and that of socialist spiritual civilization. Over the years, we unwaveringly upheld the practice of "grasping the work in two directions." While the provincial CPC Committee adopted a resolution on speeding up the pace of reform and opening up, and on actively developing an export economy, we formulated corresponding measures to strengthen the construction of socialist spiritual civilization and made plans to strengthen the construction of the party, which played a positive role in the practical work. Recently, the provincial CPC Committee further convened a meeting for the construction of spiritual civilization, at which it urged us to raise in the 1990's the construction of socialist spiritual civilization in the whole province to a new height. It also worked out corresponding plans. We must, by closely integrating with the actual situation of reforms and opening up, strengthen the construction of the party, continue to uphold the education among party members and the masses in the party's basic line and the current situation, as well as that in collectivism, patriotism, socialism, communism, and struggle despite hardship, and establish a firm belief in taking the socialist direction under the leadership of the party. We must constantly strengthen the construction of leading groups at various levels, and that of grassroot organizations, and give play to the exemplary role of party members, so as to strengthen the fighting capacity of party organizations. We should establish closer links to the masses, improve the style of leadership, promote improvement in the party style and construction of an honest government, carry out in a down-to-earth manner the work of "two opens and one supervision," seriously examine and handle cases of law and discipline violation, straighten out companies, check cases of illegal construction of houses by cadres, carry out in an in-depth manner the struggle against pornographic and disgusting things and "the six evils," so as to promote a further improvement in both party spirit and the social trends.

Though Fujian has made some achievements in the work of opening up, it is still far from the level required by the CPC Central Committee. We must sum up our experience, be bold in exploration, continue to make innovations, and use our firm faith and unremitting efforts to make more rapid progress and to do a better job in reform and opening up.

#### Footnotes

1. RENMIN RIBAO, 20 March 1987.
2. Government Work Report delivered at the Third Session of the Seventh National People's Congress.
3. Speech by [Jiang Zemin] delivered at the meeting for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC.

#### Create a Fine Economic Environment for Agricultural Development

HK2709113790 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 90 pp 28-30

[Article by Liu Zhongyi, minister of agriculture]

[Text] For the remainder of this century, the development of our country's agriculture and rural economy is confronted with "double tasks" from two sides. On the one hand, it is necessary to raise the level of the productive forces of agriculture and to climb two steps (in the "Eighth Five-Year Plan period," that is, the gross output volume of grain should reach 450 billion kilograms and the gross output of cotton, 100 million dan; by 2000, grain output should reach 500 billion kilograms and cotton output should reach 120 million dan), so as to ensure meeting the basic needs of population growth, improvement in the people's standard of living, and economic development; at the same time, improving the ecological environment and raising the technological level so as to build the foundation for strengthening development stamina and realizing the modernization of agriculture. On the other hand, we must increase the output volume of agricultural products and develop many types of operation, including the town and township enterprises, and thus open up the road to increasing the peasants' income, solving the employment problem, and making the rural economy prosperous.

As these tasks are considerably heavy and burdensome, coupled with the fact that our agriculture suffers from many restrictive factors imposed by nature, social economy, and technology, many advantageous and potentially active factors cannot be displayed fully. Handling the growth, diminution, and conversion relations between the restrictive and active factors, and ultimately solving the problem of the general equilibrium between agricultural production and social demand, is a problem we must devote our utmost efforts to solve in our improvement, rectification, and deepening of the reform, and in the "Eighth Five-Year Plan" and the 10-year development program. Here, I shall talk about the external conditions of agriculture, that is, the problem of the economic environment for agricultural development.

At present, the economic environment surrounding agriculture is extremely disadvantageous and this is manifested principally on two sides: One is that agriculture bears extremely heavy social and economic tasks, but the compensation it earns from them is insufficient. The agricultural sector not only has to supply society with

grain, cotton, and various kinds of agricultural sideline products at rather low prices, but also must bear the burdensome tasks of flood prevention along the water lanes, water supply to cities, towns, and industry, planting of trees throughout country, treatment of soil, and so on. Speaking from the side of agricultural production, due to the high prices of the much-needed means of production and the low prices of the initial-grade agricultural and sideline products, the problem of losses in agriculture, and particularly in planting grain and cotton, is becoming increasingly aggravated. Speaking from the side of construction in agriculture, and forestry and water conservancy, of the limited amount of funds annually accumulated by the state, the locality, and the peasants, a considerably large portion is expended on construction of a social nature. Most prominently, it is found that, with regard to water conservancy construction, which accounts for 70 percent of the gross amount of input of funds into agriculture, not only is the greater portion of the existing investment arranged to benefit all of society—cities, towns, and industry—but also many of the engineering projects constructed in the past to provide services for agriculture have gradually been shifted to serve the cities, towns, and industry. Originally, construction and engineering projects in water conservancy and hydraulic power generation had relatively good economic effects, but, unfortunately, some of these economic effects have been shifted to the industrial sectors and some have been absorbed by various sides of society. Thus, agriculture, in its capacity as an economic sector, becomes one that has made a large input but has received little or no compensation. The other side is: The purchasing and marketing structure of agricultural goods and the relevant economic policies have not been smoothed out. Seen from the relations between the production and marketing of main products, the reciprocal relationship between production and circulation, with currency and commodity prices as their intermediaries, are not only unconnected, but also hinder and conflict with each other. At present, peasants and local governments at various levels are grieved and depressed whether they get a poor harvest or a good one. The commercial system finds it difficult to purchase and dispose of the products when the harvest is poor; and, when the harvest is good, also finds it difficult to get the requisite funds and the storage and transportation facilities. On the side of the banks there is a shortage of funds and the interest rate is abnormally high, while on the side of commodity prices, they cannot be loosened or kept in control. The result is that the producers, particularly producers of grain and cotton, become the sufferers. And, speaking of consumers in general, they do not receive any benefits because of the large rise and fall in the prices of the various kinds of agricultural products; and because, whether there is a poor harvest or a good one, "big battles" are constantly fought for products and there is always the trend of rashly raising prices.

An economic operational mechanism of this kind can hardly be followed up and pursued in any industrial and

production department. No department can bear it and without it none can develop motivation and vitality.

The key to solving the above-mentioned problems is to liberate agricultural production and water conservancy construction in agriculture and forestry from the effects of the "products economy" and the "supply system," and to study and respect the objective economic laws governing agricultural production and the operation and development of rural economy. Since our economic structure is an integration of planned economy and regulation by market mechanism, it is necessary to study, regarding production and construction in agriculture, to which side we should display planning guidance and the role of macroeconomic adjustment and control and to which side we should display the role of regulation by market mechanism, in addition to implementing good liaison and better integration. On these two sides, the various economic policies and measures we adopt must, wherever possible, directly or indirectly conform with the law of value and the law of social average interest rate and tally with the objective demands of realization of simple reproduction and expanded reproduction. My concrete views are as follows:

1. We must consider and generally demarcate the role and nature of the construction input into agriculture, forestry, water lanes, and gas works. We should take social construction which does not yield direct economic benefits as social noncompensatory input through arrangements made in the state's financial distribution and plan and by means of arrangements in the "social deductible" portion of the national income; as for construction serving many of the sectors of the national economy, input should be apportioned and economic benefits should be divided. Regarding input directly used on agricultural construction, it should be treated as the fixed assets of the department in charge and returns in the form of economic benefits should be retained by the department while appropriate amounts of depreciation should be set aside.

2. The production and marketing relations of major agricultural products should be smoothed out. We should start with actual conditions and better display the role of planned economy. There should be a purchasing and marketing system for agricultural products that is capable of executing the purchasing and marketing plan of the state. At present, under the grain purchase and marketing method by the commercial system, the proportion of "public grain" of a taxed nature is very small, "contractual buying" is a sort of obligatory levy, and purchase at low prices and outside of this negotiated-price grain is controlled by the market mechanism. State-run commercial departments are almost unable to play their role of adjusting surplus and deficit and stabilizing market prices. The basic problem is that the funds it possesses to handle the purchase and marketing of grain are subjected to the disposal of the market economy. In order to solve this problem, the state-run commercial department should be endowed with the following conditions: 1) The prestigious character of



effecting unified handling of the major agricultural products of the whole country. 2) It must possess sufficient power and strength to make the necessary adjustment, have control, and, above all, sufficient self-owned operational funds not subject to the control of bank interest rates, and at the same time, possess the necessary storage power and facilities and ability in transport. Only by so doing can it play the role of the principal channel and of the "reservoir," as well as play the guiding role and initiator in balancing supply and demand to stabilize market prices.

3. Regarding the price policy on major agricultural products, it is necessary to find a rational demarcation line. This demarcation line should include reference to the quantities of agricultural products that the peasants sell to the state at fixed prices and those they sell at market prices and should also embody the market's price ceiling and the upper and lower limits of the lowest protective price. The former will be fixed principally by state policy and the latter principally by supply and demand relations, by the adjusting and controlling ability of the principal channel, and by the state's financial ability in making compensation and subsidies.

Here it is necessary to point out that it is extremely disadvantageous to fix the limits that are too low and too rigid on the purchase and sales prices of agricultural products. First, because it will hurt the production of the main material resources which have an important bearing on the national economy and the people's living, help the blind growth of products whose prices have been decontrolled, and lead to the distorted development and fluctuations in the internal industrial structure and the structure of the products. Second, when the major agricultural products can ensure supply at low prices, this will cause social extravagance, but, in times of scarcity of the products, they will become rarities and command high prices. Third, dependence on such measures as financial subsidies and indebtedness in operation, though able to maintain supply at low prices, has reached the limit and the accumulated losses will in the end have to be borne by society at large and, once the problem comes to the bursting point, a terrible shaking will be the result. Fourth, the widening of the differential prices between industrial and agricultural products and the comparative value of the input and output in agriculture being at par, or even in a reverse ratio, will reduce the economic power of the producers, and this signifies not only the reduction in agriculture's ability to undertake expanded reproduction, but also industrial production's shrinking and withering in the market. It indicates the playing of an impediment role to the benign cycle of the national economy.

Development of agriculture depends first on policy, second on science, and third on input. With respect to policy, the problem of the relations between the input and output of agriculture and the problem of the purchase, sales, and pricing of the major agricultural products may be considered to constitute the biggest and the most important policy. Only by determinedly smoothing

out these relations will it be possible to form a benign cycle in the economic operational process of production construction, distribution, circulation, and consumption. Whether or not these relations have been put in order has a bearing on the problem of the intimate interests of the agricultural producers and their enthusiasm for production; on the problem of whether the local governments at various levels can make correct decisions on development of agricultural production, particularly production of such principal products as grain, cotton, edible oils, and sugar; on the problem of whether agriculture has the innate vitality and capability to continuously carry out expanded reproduction, and also on the problem of the sources of the raw materials of light and heavy industries and the marketing and disposal of their products. Therefore, this all is related to the problem of whether or not the operational mechanism of the national income can run smoothly.

The agricultural problem is an urgent problem with a bearing on the situation as a whole and is also an overall problem related to a wide and extensive area. In order for our country's agriculture to achieve prolonged, sustained, and stable development, the whole party and whole society must truly unify their thinking, keep constantly on the alert, strengthen cooperation from all sides, adopt overall improvement measures, and firmly insist on these measures for a prolonged period. We have the potential for agricultural development and the future is a bright one. All depends on one's efforts, and the key lies in our own work.

#### **Consolidate and Improve the System of Contracted Responsibilities on the Household Basis With Remuneration Linked to Output**

HK0610030790 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 90 pp 30-32

[Article by Lu Xueyi (7120 1331 3669), chief of the Sociology Institute, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] There will be only 10 more years before the close of the 20th century. In order to vitalize and make a success of our country's agriculture during these last 10 years, the most important condition is that we must firmly insist, without easily making any change, on taking the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output as the basic operational system; and at the same time it must be continuously improved. This is a policy that must be firmly insisted upon for a prolonged period.

Actual practice is the only criterion for the examination of truth. The enormous accomplishments in rural development over the past 10 years have fully attested to the success of rural reform in our country. Integrating unification and division with household operation as the basis, the system of contracted responsibilities with remuneration linked to output is suited to the special features of the peasants and rural areas at the present stage and the level of the agricultural productive forces; and it possesses powerful vitality. It not only meets the

demand for development of agricultural production in backward areas, but also plays an important role in the course of realizing agricultural modernization in certain of the relatively developed areas. Hence, it has won the hearty support and welcome of the hundreds of millions of peasants.

However, since enforcement of the system of contracted responsibilities with remuneration linked to output, the peasants' psychology of fearing change has never been removed. The peasants' fear of change is due to the fact that, in certain of our localities and departments, in their actual work and guidance of public opinion and with regard to how to stabilize and improve the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output, the comrades have not shown a unified understanding; they have wavered from one side to the other and have occasionally blown disturbing winds. In particular, since 1985, when the main agricultural products, grain and cotton, displayed hesitancy in production, different views were offered that confused the cadres at the grassroots level as to what to follow and caused unrest among the peasants.

In reality, the attribute of the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output was clearly mentioned in Document No. 1, 1982, of the central authorities. The document pointed out: Contracting to the household "having been forced, the form of operation has been changed basically into operations whereby households are solely responsible for their own profits and losses; however, it is based on the public ownership of land. The peasant households and the collectives maintain contracting relations, but the collectives exercise unified control and use of land, large farm machines, and water conservancy facilities; accept the planned guidance of the state; make a fixed public retention; and make unified arrangements for the livelihood of martyrs' families, the Wu-bao households ("five-guarantee" households), and distressed families, with some of the collectives carrying out agricultural capital construction under a unified plan. Hence, this is different from the small, private, individual operations prior to cooperativization, but is a constituent part of the socialist agricultural economy; following development of the productive forces, it will gradually develop to become an improved collective economy." In enforcing the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output, unified operations by the cooperatives and divided operations by the households rely on each other for existence and cannot be separated, jointly forming an organic structure. The understanding of those who take the share of the unified operation of the collectives as constituting the socialist collective economy and consider the share of the divided operation of the households as privately owned, individual, non-socialist economy is incorrect. In reality, after many years' development, the collective economy in our country has greatly increased in strength. In 1983, the rural collective economy of the whole country owned

fixed assets of a productive nature worth a gross amount of 163.19 billion yuan, of which the share belonging to collective unified operation was 50.9 percent, and the share owned by household operation was 49.1 percent. In 1988, the whole country's rural collective economy owned 304.28 billion yuan worth of fixed assets of a productive nature, an increase of 86.5 percent. Of it, the share belonging to collective unified operation was 164.31 billion yuan, or 54 percent, while the share belonging to household operations was 139.97 billion yuan, or 46 percent. Hence, the growth rate of the share of collective unified operation was faster than that of household operations.

In stabilizing the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output, there are many concrete problems requiring careful solutions. For example, at present, on average the contracted farmland per household is only several mu and each year the size of the land contracted will have to be readjusted on the basis of the increase or decrease in the number of people in a household. This means that there will be an increased dispersal of farmland and this is disadvantageous to production development and may increase the peasants' feeling of instability and uncertainty. Hence, we must actively develop nonagricultural trade, greatly undertake opening up of agriculture, and shift the surplus labor force. At the same time, compensatory transfer of land by the peasants should be encouraged. Large-scale readjustment should be avoided so as to maintain the stable character of contracting. Moreover, because division of work has not been developed and the level of agricultural production is relatively low, the situation of average contracting cannot be avoided. Only after division of work has developed, the channels of employment are many, and farming is no longer the main source of peasant household income, can agriculture develop in the direction of specialized contracting and can the scale of operation expand. At present, conditions of this kind are available only in the economically developed regions in some of the southeastern coastal areas and in the suburbs of certain large cities and towns. The rural areas in most localities still do not possess such conditions and if we are to undertake dimensional operation at any rate, confusion will result and production will be disrupted. Again, for example, originally it was stipulated that the contracted period of 15 years would not be changed. What will then happen at the end of this period? This requires a clear-cut interpretation. Relevant departments have suggested the formulation of regulations governing agricultural contracting agreements in the country and fixing by law the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output as a basic operational system in the rural areas in order to put it on a systematic and legalized track, to provide cadres at various levels and the peasants with a standard of requirement, to remove the peasants' psychology of fear of change, and to make the production work of the collectives and peasants become a long-term affair.

The system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output should be continuously improved on a stable basis. All newborn things must go through the procedure of gradual improvement. This new system of household contracting, which was put in force in the whole country at the strong demand of the peasants from the bottom level to the above and in a relatively short period, requires all the more to go through a procedure of consolidation and improvement. Conversion from the original overcentralized three-level structure of the people's commune under unified operation to the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output, which is an integration of unification and division, is in itself a reform on the side of operation and management. It requires continuous work and many improvements. However, the problem is to handle well the integration of unified operation with household operation. Unified collective operation and dispersed household operation are two different stages that are mutually and closely related. Each has its own functions, and if either wishes to fully display its role then it must have the other's cooperation and coordination. Speaking of the country as a whole, several years ago this setup of household operation played its role more fully and thereby enabled agricultural production to achieve a flying development. However, household operation also has its own limitations. First, it can utilize natural resources, labor resources, and other resources only on a limited scale. Second, its input into production has an active character, but its capability for input into agricultural capital construction is limited and often it has its own considerations. Third, certain large and important scientific and technological achievements can hardly be pushed by one family or one household alone. Fourth, regarding such matters as supply of materials before and during production and postproduction processing and marketing of products, a single household or family frequently cannot handle all of them well, and, while successfully attending to one may completely miss the others. Therefore, from now on if we wish to further display the role of household operation, greater support and cooperation will be needed from the unified collective operation sector, such as readjusting piecemeal land by means of the collective, enforcing compensatory contracting of land, establishing agricultural development funds, strengthening labor accumulations, organizing farmland and water conservancy capital construction, organizing production of an opening-up nature, providing the peasant households with more and better services before, during, and after production, and so on, and so forth. Furthermore, there are certain localities that, in the initial period of the reform, due to lack of experience, one-sidedly stressed "dividing," resulting in having all the assets of the collectives divided and distributed and the collective economy becoming an "empty shell" and lacking the actual strength to serve the households. It is necessary now to develop and restore the strength of the collectives in these places. We should note that during these years the household operation

sector has developed, and the sides of manpower, material power, wisdom (science and technology) have well prepared the conditions for collective unified operation to display its role. The problem now is to adroitly guide action according to circumstances and attach importance to strengthening and displaying the role of collective unified operation. But will this weaken the role of household operation? Decidedly not. On the contrary, doing so will create additional conditions for the further development of household operation.

The party Central Committee early pointed out that "the system of contracting with remuneration linked to output adopts the principle of integration of unified operation and divided operation so as to enable the simultaneous display of the strong points of the collective and the positivism of the individual. A further step in the development of this system will enable the concrete road of the socialist cooperative transformation of agriculture to comply all the more with our country's realities. This is a great creation by peasants of our country under the guidance of the party and is a new development in the Marxist theory of cooperative transformation of agriculture in actual practice in our country." The whole party must have a unified understanding of this.

#### **Establish and Improve the Rural Social Services System**

HK0610031190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 90 pp 32-34

[Article by Guo Zengpei (6753 1073 1024), assistant secretary, Hantan CPC Committee, Hebei Province]

[Text] Establishing and improving the rural social services system is the natural demand for stabilizing and improving the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output. "Large contracting" broke the ossified pattern of "three-level ownership with the team as the basis" and carried out the system of contracted responsibilities with remuneration linked to output which takes household operation as the center, integrates unification and division, and enforces dual-level operation. Because of this, the positivism and enthusiasm of the peasants were aroused and productive forces were greatly liberated. Furthermore, we have taken stabilizing the basic rural policy and stabilizing the contracting system as a basic starting point of the party's rural policy. But it would not be workable to merely depend on stabilizing, or stabilizing up to the current level. This is because, first, over the past 10 years, agricultural production has already achieved a definite development and the peasants' production and operation activities have become increasingly commercialized and socialized and increasingly need to be extended to wider areas outside the household. Second, in the first step of the reform there were definite points of imperfection. Prior to the "great contracting," because the implication of "double-deck operation" was not as clearly understood as it is now and also



because of one-sidedness in ideology and in work, in many localities the work of dividing assets reached the bottom and the collectives were turned overnight into "empty shells." Unified operation thus lost its material foundation. This made certain cadres at the grassroots level and the masses develop the idea that "great contracting" was equivalent to simply working. In these localities, the so-called "double-deck" operation was "congenitally deficient" at its birth, with one leg (dividing) strong and the other leg (unifying) weak. If we liken the system of contracted responsibilities with remuneration linked to output to a piece of engineering work, then in this step it could only be counted as an incomplete piece of engineering work. Hence, the system of contracting with remuneration linked to output must be further improved with regard to the stability of its foundation. So-called improvement refers to strengthening the consciousness of unifying, increasing the content of unifying, and reinforcing the functions of unifying. At the moment, principally we should set up and perfect the socialized services system and, by means of all-around services, have small-scale production and each and every household organized to jointly go on the road of commercialized and socialized great agriculture.

How is it possible to establish and perfect the rural socialized services system? I believe that it is most important to start from stark objective reality, and suit measures to local conditions. Seen from our Hantan District, the condition of first-level service work in a village is generally divided into three categories. First category: A healthy services system has already been established. Not only have the "five unifications" been realized, but also various kinds of services can be rendered to the peasants' production and living. These consist mostly of villages retained from the collective at the time of the "great contracting," which in recent years have achieved large-scale development and possess relatively great collective economic strength. The cadres of these villages generally possess relatively strong consciousness of services; they also have a relatively strong calling or appealing power and influence. This category of village is in the minority. Second category: Possessing certain services and able to "unify" a portion, but being neither perfect nor forming a system. The collective economy has no real strength or is very weak. The village cadres know the importance of services, but their ability frequently falls short of their wishes and they themselves harbor heavy sentiments of fearing difficulties. This category of villages is in the majority. Third category: Possessing practically no services to speak of. The collectives do not have a single cent in their treasury and each and every move has to be accompanied by making levies. The hearts of the cadres are not disposed in the direction of services and both material and spiritual civilizations are in a backward state. This category of villages is also in the minority.

Facing the above-mentioned conditions, regarding the establishment of a first-level services system in the villages, we have adhered to the principle of suiting

measures to local conditions and guiding in separate categories. Vis-a-vis villages of the first category, we have devoted efforts to making them continuously improve their existing services system, realize systematization, and, following development of the collective economy, at the same time expand the scope of services so that both material and spiritual civilizations can achieve development and an exemplary role can be played in the whole district. Regarding the second category of villages, first of all we have helped the party and government cadres to overcome in ideology their sentiments of fearing difficulties and to establish the concept that leadership means rendering services and that the poorer the conditions of the masses in the localities the more fervently they wish for services. Economic strength is a reliable support and important condition for services, but is not the only condition, since cooperation, guidance, and organization are also services. Moreover, the growth of the collective economy is not for the picking, and only through services can the functions of unification be strengthened. In Wong Eying Village of Chengan County in our district, the collective economy was very weak after enforcement of the "great contracting." It had no other resources except the planting trade. The village cadres had only two bare hands. However, under such conditions, the village cadres did not resort to tending only the fields for which they were responsible but thought of ways and means to render services. Starting from introducing science and technology, they did solid work for the sake of the masses' living and production. They braved winds and storms innumerable times, visited the provincial capital, went to Baoding, sought technology, procured and carried off good seeds, and by rendering services aroused the enthusiasm of the village people to be jointly well-off. In the end they managed to make the city's economy climb to a new stage year after year; the peasants' per capita income grew from 136 yuan a year before the reform to 1,010 yuan in 1989. The actual strength of the collectives developed from nil to fixed assets worth 2 million yuan and the value of their output to 2.84 million yuan, entering the benign cycle through the process of services augmenting the collective economy and augmentation of the collective economy strengthening the functions of services. In our opinion, this is the road that must be taken in their development by the majority of rural villages in our district. As for the third category of rural villages, as the breakthrough point we should take the setting up of a leadership team embodying the ideology of wholeheartedly serving the people.

The condition of the collective economy plays the decisive role in setting up the services system. Developing and augmenting the collective economy should from now on be an important task in rural economic development. Regarding the great majority of rural villages where the collective economy is weak or relatively weak, where should we start in developing and augmenting the collective economy? Seen from our district, the following

points should be grasped well: 1) Enforcing the compensatory contracting of land, changing the making of various kinds of retention to collecting contracting fees of an overall nature, and using the funds on the populace. Doing so will be beneficial to strengthening the peasants' concept of the public ownership of land as well as to strengthening the ideology of collectivism. 2) Setting up a public accumulation system and a depreciation and labor accumulation system for the collective and effecting collection and retention from all sides. 3) When there is a fixed accumulation or a definite opportunity, actively and steadily developing village-run enterprises so as to enable the collective economy to rise to a new stage.

The first-level rural services system of countryside and counties above the village level in our district has evolved the following four forms: 1) Double-direction target responsibility system. The counties, townships, villages, and households level by level sign double-direction responsibility contracts, the various economic targets are carried out from bottom to top, the peasants' responsibilities to the state and the state's services to the peasants are integrated, and a written contractual form is used to carry out the linking of material resources to the circulation channels. 2) Agricultural technical collective contracting. This is a kind of service that is provided mainly by science and technology organizations who contract with administrative, material and financial organizations to provide technology and efficiency. This is also called "four in one body." Some counties, townships, and villages have adopted this form, but it will be of greater significance if the contracting by the "four in one body" at the township level is carried out well. 3) Federations of the trade and industrial nature. This is a form of spontaneous and self-rendered services formed by the peasants. In general, it is a voluntary association with persons possessing certain special technical skills as the backbone. Priority services are rendered to internal units while externally the services are compensatory. This form has its strong points (being spontaneous, there is little official air). It also has its shortcomings (unitary and instability). It deserves support but must be well organized and guided. 4) Setting up overall "agricultural federations" of the three levels of county, township, and village participated in by the relevant functional departments and led by administrative leadership at various levels, and combining them with the joint societies of townships and villages which for a long time have existed in name only, joining together the strong points of the various kinds of services, making use of administrative force as backing and gradually realizing the systematization of the services.

The establishment of a strong and healthy socialized services system and promoting the progress of rural productive forces constitute a deep-going reform. They demand that our party and government organs at various levels in the district, counties, and townships make corresponding changes in ideology function and work style. First, cadres at various levels must make clear the

reason why a strong and healthy services system must be established, and thereby make the various kinds of concrete work they are engaged in to consciously revolve around this center and ensure that the strength of various sides such as manpower, material resources, funds, and ideological and political work is centralized in the principal objective. Second, cadres at various levels must truly set up the concept of "to lead is to serve," firmly bear in mind the basic targets of the Communist Party and the people's government, change their work style, go deep into the peasant masses, understand each and every concrete demand of the peasants, help them, guide them, teach them, and do things for them. Third, it is necessary to take the establishment of a sound socialized services system from ordinary call-sounding to becoming a concrete target of work and a responsibility system, subjected to planned arrangements and to supervision, inspection, and assessment and be tightly grasped for realization step by step.

#### **Properly Resolve New Agricultural Development Problems Arising in Economically Developed Areas**

*HK0410011590 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 90 pp 34-36*

[Article by Liu Jimin (0491 3444 3046), secretary, Wuxi City CPC Committee, Jiangsu Province]

[Text] Agriculture is the basis of the national economy. This point cannot change, regardless of the changes in the level of socioeconomic development. However, in our country's economically developed areas, many new situations and problems have occurred in agricultural development. These require that, in accordance with reality, we seriously explore how, under the new conditions, we are to strengthen agriculture's basic position and raise the agricultural output level. Over the last few years, Wuxi City has made some efforts in this respect. Over the last 10-plus years, we have realized achievements in the implementation of the household output-related contract system, in readjusting the rural industrial structure, and in forming a new industrial structure that has township and village industries as its main part and under which agriculture, nonstaple production, and industry see coordinated development. Therefore, we have basically achieved a change by which a great volume of rural labor has been transferred to nonagricultural spheres. We have formed a situation in which the commodity economy is seeing large-scale development and the rural areas' comprehensive commodity rate has risen from 46.5 percent in 1978 to 90.55 percent in 1989. Seen overall, in Wuxi City, agriculture is seeing stable development. Now, township and village industry has become the main industry in the rural economy, the cropping system has changed from a "three-focus system" to a "two-focus system," and cultivated land has dropped by 240,000 mu. However, agriculture has not shrunk and total grain output is basically stable, while unit area output has risen. Although agriculture's output value is only 1.454 billion yuan, agriculture constitutes

only four percent of the total social output value of the city's rural areas. However, as it is the national economy's base, in the new situation of great change in Wuxi's urban and rural areas, it has continued to raise the whole city's economy to a higher level and supported society's stability and the political environment.

We have also soberly recognized that the problems faced by Wuxi's agriculture are extremely pressing and the contradictions are extremely acute. The output value of Wuxi's township and village industry has already reached 93.9 percent of the rural industry's gross industrial output value, and nonagricultural labor now constitutes 85.3 percent of total rural labor. This shows that Wuxi's rural industry has already entered a new stage of development. As a great amount of labor has shifted to nonagricultural sectors, agricultural labor's volume and quality have both dropped. An increasing number of people are engaged only in part-time agriculture. As township and village industry has become the major industry, most rural cadres' attention has shifted to agriculture. Because of the urban and rural economies' overall development, all sides need a large volume of funds and it is quite difficult to increase investment in agriculture. As the income that the majority of peasants derive from the nonagricultural sphere has obviously increased and because prices for the means of production were freed, agricultural production costs rose steeply and the peasants' enthusiasm for growing grain, pigs, and vegetables is not high. Because of the rapid development of urban and rural construction, it has been difficult to halt the reduction in cultivated land, which has formed a great threat to improving agriculture's stability. The above facts have brought five major contradictions to Wuxi's agricultural development: 1) The contradiction between the commodity economy's large-scale development and the fact that agricultural and nonstaple products cannot be sold completely in accordance with the law of value. 2) The contradictions between the promotion of agricultural modernization and the present small scale of land operations. 3) The contradiction between modern agriculture's high input, output, and efficiency demands and the basic agricultural facilities' current weakness. 4) The contradiction between modern agriculture's demand for highly skilled labor and the existing situation where the quality of those engaged in agriculture is seeing a relative annual decline. 5) The contradiction between modern agriculture's demand for modern technology and equipment and agriculture's current weakness and poor results. These contradictions fully demonstrate that the small-scale agricultural economy left to us by history is not suited to agriculture's specialization, commoditization, and modernization, and it manifests agriculture's weakness, dependence, and instability. If this situation is not changed, we will not be able to resolve the problem of achieving a higher level of development and agriculture. Analysis of these contradictions allows us to recognize that the basic way forward for agriculture lies in modernization. Our aim is to make agriculture a relatively

independent industry, rich in vigor and with a self-regulatory mechanism, able to achieve agriculture's specialization, commoditization, and modernization.

In order to achieve this target, we have taken the deepening of reform and the resolution of the problems of agriculture's stability and improvement as major elements of economic improvement and rectification, and in this respect we are adopting a few new measures:

1. We need to seriously establish the idea of taking agriculture as the base, and establish the idea of relying mainly on ourselves to resolve the agriculture problem. Of course, this does not mean that we should do without state or provincial support. However, it is not realistic to place our hopes in a great increase in agricultural and nonstaple products' prices, or place our hopes in the state handing out large amounts of funds to quickly resolve the problem of some agricultural products' prices being too low. For example, in the Wuxi area, even if the major agricultural products' prices were completely freed, each laborer only works a few mu and the comparative results are low. We believe that it is quite realistic and positive for us to rely mainly on our own strengths in resolving the agriculture problem, as we will find it easy to organize strengths on all sides. To this end, we have set down the policy of "four increases and three self-sufficiencies." The "four increases" are increasing grain, nonstaple products, efficiency, and reserve strength. The "three self-sufficiencies" are self-sufficiency in grain; striving for a basic self-sufficiency in major nonstaple foodstuffs within one to two years and striving over the subsequent few years to achieve full self-sufficiency; and, within three years, striving for basic self-sufficiency in the major agricultural means of production. These are the main strategic goals of our city's urban and rural economic development. We also understand that we must mobilize and organize the forces of the whole society to resolve the agricultural problems. Agriculture requires a great input, and the low comparative benefits of agricultural operations means that subsidies are required. Since agricultural products are commodities, we should handle them in accordance with the law of value. However, conditions are not now available for completely freeing the prices of grain and some other agriculture and nonstaple products. Over the last few years, we have relied mainly on the township and village industries and, by "using industry to subsidize agriculture," increased the input of agriculture and rationally regulated the incomes of rural laborers who worked in different industries. However, township and village industries will not long be able bear such a method of resolving the agriculture problem. Further, the agriculture and grain problems are no longer just rural problems. Rather, they have become problems of the whole society and it will be difficult for the rural economy itself to properly resolve the problem of greater input. Thus, we have proposed establishing a positive agricultural guarantee system throughout society, in which the urban areas are joined with the rural areas, agriculture is joined with industry, and the state is joined with collectives and



individuals. Over the last few years, we have fully brought into play the township and village industries' economic strength, and we have widely established a system of agricultural development funds in townships and villages. The money from these funds is used mainly for building and repairing field irrigation works, purchasing agricultural machinery, propagating agricultural technology, and rationally adjusting the incomes of the rural laborers who work in different industries. They have played a big role in stabilizing and improving agricultural production. We have also retained an appropriate amount of nonstaple foodstuff development funds from the city and county enterprises and used these funds to build nonstaple foodstuff bases. Each year the city and each county's financial administrations provide a certain amount of funds and these funds are used to increase agricultural input and develop industries producing agricultural-use products.

2. We have to rely on scientific and technological progress and the strengthening of agricultural service systems. Advanced science and technology is a necessary precursor of economic take-off, and, in basic terms, the agricultural problem's solution requires reliance on science and technology. At present, the most important aspect is strengthening agricultural services. Modernizing agriculture requires that service for agriculture also be modern. Wuxi's service system has the characteristic of relying on township and village industries, relying on the collective economy, and it can operate economic entities. The government gives preferential treatment to economic entities run by agricultural service companies. Comprehensive operations are implemented within the service system and industry supports the services. Part of the profits can be used in improving service measures, providing quality service at low prices, and improving the income levels of scientists and technicians. The city's rural areas have already formed an entire interlocking agricultural service system that has definite economic strength, intrinsic vigor, and provides a complete network. This has created and tempered an agricultural technology service contingent that is of quite high quality, is quite stable, and that maintains quite close ties to the peasants. It has played an increasingly major role in stabilizing and improving agriculture, strengthening the rural collectives' economic power, and in promoting agriculture's modernization. Of course, the current agricultural technical service is mainly a routine technical service. There still have not been any major breakthroughs in key technical areas and there is much latent potential in this respect.

3. We must speed up experiments in mechanized operations of scale. In Wuxi County and some townships and villages, we are now developing some experiments in agricultural modernization. The experimental work has mechanized operations of scale as its major content. These experiments resolve four problems: 1) They appropriately expand the scale of operations. 2) They strengthen the service system. 3) They raise the level of

agricultural mechanization. 4) They improve the agricultural accumulation mechanism. In general, the experimental units' economic conditions are quite good, they have a certain force in the collective economy, they have outlets for their surplus labor, they have a basis for mechanization, they have conditions for collective service, and they have a leading group of a quite high level. The experimental units do not rush headlong into things and are not overanxious for results. Rather, they act in accordance with the conditions and their own superiorities. We adhere to the policy of having fewer experimental points, which make bolder steps and have higher demands on them. The experiences realized in mechanized operations of scale at specific experimental points have created conditions for mechanized operations of scale over a broader area. The experiences of past experimental points are drawn in and, in a way which seeks truth from facts and accords with local capacities, we have positively implemented the measures and carefully engaged in operations. Our work method is to grasp the current year and plan for next year, while exploring future avenues. The agricultural modernization experimental points are an important arrangement in exploring the future.

4. We have to strengthen the leadership and management systems, and the key to this is strengthening leadership by the party. This is one of the most important of all the measures and is an extremely important lesson we have learned in strengthening rural work and resolving the agriculture problem. On several occasions each year, our city committee and government discuss, in a centralized way, the agriculture problem. Now, the city committee has a deputy secretary and the city government has a deputy mayor who are engaged solely in managing rural work and agricultural production, and leading comrades have made great efforts in concerning themselves with rural work and agricultural production. Over the last few years, the party and government leaders at the city, county (city), township (town), and village levels have all strengthened their leadership over rural work and agricultural production. In accordance with the new situation where peasants who engage in industrial production also engage in agriculture, the townships and villages, and the township and village enterprises have instituted dual management and dual assessment for agricultural production, and have achieved very marked results.

#### Putting Efforts Into Raising the Quality of Rural Laborers

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in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 90 pp 36-38

[Article by Chen Zhexian (7115 5074 7449), deputy secretary general, Anhui provincial people's government]

[Text] The population of our country is huge and per capita resources are insufficient. In the agricultural sphere, the per capita area of cultivated land is less than

1.5 mu, per capita water resources are 2,581 cubic meters and per capita wood product resources are 8.8 cubic meters. These figures are respectively 40 percent, 25 percent, and 13 percent of the world per capita figures. Per capita commodity energy (converted to standard coal) is 0.63 tons, only 5-10 percent of the figures for the Soviet Union, Western Europe, and the United States. Therefore, we cannot travel the road whereby we develop agriculture by consuming more of these resources. Rather, we need to stress the development of labor resource superiorities, and travel the road of using science and technology to conserve resources and relying on scientifically and technologically intensive input. In traveling this road, the crux lies in raising the quality of the peasants.

Over the last nearly 10 years, our country's rural economy has developed in an overall way from unitary planting and grain production to a combination of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fishery. Developmental agriculture has seen vital growth and all areas are now beginning to plant medium- or low-output fields, waste sandflats, waste hillsides, and waste water areas. Township and village enterprises have seen great growth and much labor has shifted from agriculture to nonagricultural industry. The changes in the rural industrial structure have put forward new demands on the skills structure, the labor structure, and the quality of laborers. These changes have demanded a labor force with ideals and culture, that understands technology, is skilled in operations, and capable in management. However, the present situation in the rural areas is far from what is hoped for. Of the current employed population in the rural areas, about 35 percent are illiterate or only semiliterate, and about 37 percent have only a primary school education. Seen in terms of scientific and technical contingents, for every 10,000 persons in the national population, there are only 6.6 scientific and technical propagation personnel. The agricultural scientific and technical propagation personnel in Anhui Province constitute only about three percent of all scientific and technical personnel throughout the society. On average, there are only two personnel per 10,000 mu of land, or three personnel for every 10,000 persons of the agricultural population. Nearly half of all townships (towns) throughout the country do not have agricultural scientific and technical propagation organs, and two-thirds of villages do not have a technical service organization. This is greatly disadvantageous to propagating advanced agricultural technology and agricultural scientific and technical achievements. At present, only 30 to 40 percent of our country's agricultural science achievements are utilized in production, and a large number of scientific and technical achievements are not transferred into productive forces. According to our understanding, in the 40 years from 1929 to 1972, in the United States, agricultural output volume grew 81 percent and labor productivity grew 71 percent. Credit for this must be given to agricultural scientific research and the propagation of new technologies. However, in our country's agricultural

development, only 30 to 40 percent of the development can be assigned to the role of science and technology. If we compare these, we can see a disparity, but can also see the potential for our country's agriculture.

In developing science and technology, in raising the quality of the peasants, and in gradually pushing rural economic development onto the track of reliance on scientific and technical progress, we first need to grasp education. The current education system in the rural areas of our country has basically been established by extending the old traditional model of educational advancement. Thus, there is much general education, but little specialized education and thousands vie to cross the "narrow bridge." The majority of the graduate students who cannot cross the "bridge" do not obtain specialized knowledge and do not gain technical abilities, and therefore cannot directly serve agriculture. If we take Anhui as an example, according to statistics, of every 100 primary school students in the rural areas, only three eventually proceed to university. From 1981 to 1987, only 6,000-plus students graduated from rural vocational middle schools throughout the the whole province each year, constituting only 1.3 percent of the total number of junior and senior middle school graduates. If this situation is not changed, how will we be able to talk about improving the quality of the peasants?

To this end, we need to reform the old educational system and, in accordance with experimental experiences in some advanced areas, rural education should take the development of the rural economy as its center and take science and technology as its motive force. The main aspect should be the development of rural vocational schools and regional educational development plans should be included in local economic and social development plans. We should closely combine a system for training skilled personnel with a system of scientific and technical propagation and combine economic development with intellectual development. Through overall planning and coordination, we should encourage upward links (to educational, scientific, and cultural organs), lateral links (between various businesses and industries), and downward links (with the millions of households in the rural areas), so that the personnel, finances, and materials of the economic, scientific and technical, and educational sectors in the rural areas are rationally deployed and combined. This will produce the best results in terms of personnel training, scientific and technical development, and economic vitalization, and this will speed the building of new socialist rural areas.

Vocational and technical education is the point of contact between scientific and technical education and the economy, and is an important bridge by which personnel resources are turned into intellectual resources and then turned into productive forces. However, this is a weak point in rural education at present and it is necessary to grasp this point and promote reform of education. We need to stress adult spare-time education, which has a short cycle, sees results quickly, and which has practical

technology as its main content. We also need to broadly develop education for educated youth who have returned to their villages, properly run practical technology training classes and greatly develop job training for staff and workers of township and village enterprises, so as to swiftly raise the management level of enterprise cadres and the technical quality of staff and workers. We should also link the development of vocational and technical education to speeding the establishment of regional, township, and village scientific and technical development, propagation and service organizations, the running of scientific and technical popularization associations and specialized technical research associations, and having the various sectors, either themselves or jointly, run technical and economic entities which have scientific and technical service as their main part.

Over the last few years, in the process by which rural reform has been deepened, Anhui Province has bravely engaged in exploration and experiments in the areas of overall planning and coordination of agriculture, science and technology, and education. What is meant by planning and coordination of agriculture, science and technology, and education is that these three sectors are organically combined and, through developing vocational education, technical training, and propagation of technology, the training of skilled personnel is accelerated, thus promoting the development of the rural economy. The province has strengthened the overall planning and coordination functions at all levels of government and especially at the county and township levels, and fully utilized the schools, stations, farms, and institutes of the agricultural scientific and educational sectors to widely develop spare-time training. They have also introduced quality vocational and technical education in primary and middle schools, raised the educational, scientific, and technical levels of the broad numbers of peasants, fostered skilled personnel in all sorts of applied technologies, and combined the training of skilled personnel with the propagation of applied technologies and the establishment of service systems. They have used education to promote science and technology, used science and technology to promote the economy, and achieved the coordinated development of the various agricultural, scientific, and educational undertakings.

The central issue in overall planning and coordination is overcoming the various problems that exist under the current system, such as the divisions between the agricultural, scientific and technical, and educational sectors; the excessively rigid division of work and structural dislocation between these sectors; fully bringing into play the superiorities of each of the sectors and raising overall benefits. The major elements of overall planning and coordination are: 1) Setting down the rural economic, science and technology, and education development strategies, plans, and implementation programs for the region. 2) Setting down a responsibility system involving goals for division of work between the various sectors. 3) Managing and using, in a unified way, the

scientific and technical personnel, teaching staff, education and training equipment, and experimental facilities and bases. 4) Establishing agricultural, scientific, and educational development funds. 5) Formulating corresponding, relevant preferential policies. In brief, overall planning and coordination should run through the entire process of personnel resource development, scientific and technical development, and economic development, and spread into the agricultural service work of every sector and every area, so as to have rural economic construction move as quickly as possible onto the track whereby it relies on scientific and technical progress and achieves improved labor productivity.

In 1986, the Anhui provincial government established a rural education reform experimental area in Huangshan City. Centering on the topic of how rural education meet the demands of production development, it has promoted comprehensive reform of rural education in which "agriculture, science and technology, and education form a unity, and general, vocational, and adult education are planned as a whole." Pleasing development has been achieved. Qikou District in Xiuning County under this city has established a new educational system in which development of the rural economy is the center, science and technology are the motive forces, vocational middle schools are the props, and in which general education, vocational education, and adult education permeate each other. They have established agricultural science and technology education associations, which are chaired by the responsible comrades of the district, township, town, and village levels, and in which the agricultural, science and technology, and education departments participate. Through developing activities such as "training one skilled person, mastering one technology, developing one project, and spurring one group of people to become prosperous," they have organically combined skills training and technical propagation. Economic development funds and skills training tasks have been coordinated and they have implemented comprehensive utilization of teaching staff, bases, and facilities. Thereby, they have overcome many difficulties in the development of rural vocational education, resulting in the rural economy, science and technology, and education beginning to move along the road of coordinated development. Over the last three years, a vocational senior middle school in this district has trained over 200 middle school-level skilled technicians who have a systematic grasp of applied agricultural technologies that are in urgent demand. It has also run about 130 short-term courses, resulting in the mastery of one or more practical technologies by over 32 percent of the young, able-bodied laborers of the district, and this has had obvious benefits for agricultural production. In 1988, the per capita income of persons in this district reached 600 yuan, an increase of 150 yuan over 1986. Huangshan City propagated the experiences of Qikou District in a timely way and in 1989 the proportion of vocational senior middle school students to ordinary senior middle school students reached 1.3:1, while 42 percent of senior middle school students registered for



university entrance examinations. This was 36 percentage points more than the figure of six percent prior to the reforms.

At present, overall planning and coordination between agriculture, science and technology, and education is, with the urging of the State Education Commission, Ministry of Agriculture, and State Science Commission, being widely implemented in the various areas of Anhui and throughout the country. It has demonstrated many superiorities in developing human resources and in raising the level of agricultural production: 1) It urges people to further correct their ideas on education, to implement in an overall way the policy that "education must serve socialist modernization and socialist construction must rely on education," and fully change the education system which has promotion to the next level of schooling as its main component, so as to clearly interlink education and economic construction. 2) It breaks down the fetters of the old system where there are barriers between departments and regions, and builds schools into bases for practical study. The fostering and training of personnel are tightly combined with economic development and propagation of science and technology, and this is beneficial to the combination of schooling and practical life, education and production activities, and propagation of science and technology and production operations, forming a fine cycle whereby "education promotes prosperity" and "prosperity promotes education" and produces very good economic and social benefits. 3) Agriculture, science and technology, and education are organically combined, and there is overall planning and coordination. Science and education are combined, and together they serve agriculture. In their combination, education and agriculture foster skilled personnel and resolve, swiftly and well, the problems of shortages of teachers, practical education arenas and funds, which for a long time have faced rural vocational education. 4) It raises the quality of labor, meaning that agricultural science and technology are quickly transformed into productive forces.

**A Complete Reproduction of Lenin's Thought and Life—Commenting on *Biography of Lenin***

HK0410012490 Beijing QIUSHI (SEEKING TRUTH)  
in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 90 pp 39-42

[Article by Wu Zhong (0702 1813)]

[Text] For quite some time, some concepts in Western "Lenin studies" have become fashionable theories within China. Some propagators of bourgeois liberalization, when analyzing the shortcomings and mistakes that have occurred in socialist practice, have shifted their attacks away from their initial targets of Mao Zedong and Stalin towards Lenin and even Marx. It is as if Lenin has become a criminal of history. It was in this theoretical atmosphere that Huang Nansen [7806 2809 2773] and Zeng Shenglin [2582 4141 2651] published their 600,000-plus character work *Biography of Lenin*. The book was published in July 1989 by Henan People's

Publishing House. This is the first Chinese monograph to systematically study Lenin, and the authors, with rich historical resources, a truth-seeking academic attitude, and strict logical analysis, have changed the one-sided research on Lenin in the past and completely reproduced the ideological theory and life activities of Lenin, the Marxist ideologist and revolutionary. Thereby, the work fully reflects the authors' theoretical skill and special academic characteristics.

Unlike many other biographies, *Biography of Lenin* does not get bogged down in excessive details of Lenin's life or enumerating unusual events. Rather, by adopting the angle of drawing out the innate relationship between theory and practice, it gives a different perspective on Lenin's great revolutionary life. Thus, this book is both a history of Lenin's revolutionary activities and a history of Lenin's development of Marxist thought. The two aspects are organically combined. The choice of this angle reflects the authors' accurate grasping of the special position occupied by Lenin in the history of the development of Marxism. That Lenin could become the greatest Marxist in the first half of the 20th century was determined mainly by the fact that, at that time, the practice of the proletarian revolution had been placed directly on the agenda. In contrast to Plekhanov, Lenin was a Marxist in practice. It was, in fact, the demands of practice that caused Lenin to leave the library and to apply the basic theories of Marxism in resolving the concrete problems of the Russian revolution. It was also the demands of practice which caused Lenin to continually take the specific problems of the Russian revolution into the library and to study Marxism. Thereby, on the basis of combining theory and practice, he developed Marxism. Lenin once wrote that Marxists should draw their entire faith from revolutionary theory and use revolutionary theory in practical activities. Only through Lenin's combining of Marxist theory and the practice of the Russian revolution was it possible for a great victory in the revolution to be achieved, for the initial consolidation of the October Soviet political regime to be achieved, and for Leninism, as a new stage of Marxism, to come into being. Some people in the West hold that Plekhanov was Marxism's philosopher and theorist, that Lenin was only a political activist and revolutionary. In *Biography of Lenin*, we see not only that Lenin produced great works which deeply developed Marxism in the spheres of philosophy and economics, but also that the closer he was to a critical juncture in revolutionary practice, the more he stressed and studied theory. It is very clear that Lenin was not only a great proletarian revolutionary, but also an outstanding Marxist theoretician.

*Biography of Lenin*, in completely reproducing the course of Lenin's thought and life, stresses describing Lenin's defense of and development of Marxism. In the history of the development of Marxism, Lenin can be considered a model in defending and developing Marxist theory. Lenin spent his life indomitably struggling to safeguard and develop Marxism, and in ardent exploration. *Biography of Lenin* tells us that the various views

which have appeared in the 1980's and which depreciate and defame Marxism are just repetition and plagiarizing of the attacks made on Marxism by the bourgeoisie at the end of the last century. Lenin most firmly rebuffed these attacks. In the 1890's, Mikhailovsky, a liberal Narodist thinker, engaged in unbridled distortion of and attack on the Marxist materialist view of history and dialectics. In his famous work *What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats*, Lenin fully revealed the subjective sociological methods of these fraudulent friends of the people; correctly explained historical inevitability and the relationship between people's rationality, will, and actions; correctly analyzed the characteristics of Marxism's dialectical method and showed how it differed from Hegel's dialectical method; and defended the two basic foundation stones of Marxism. By the end of the 19th century, there had appeared within the Second International a revisionist countercurrent which gradually grew into an international phenomenon, becoming a major danger to the international workers' movement at that time. This was the notorious Bernsteinism. Its basic characteristic was that it completely changed the basic principles of Marxism. At that time, there was a small number of Bernstein's followers in Russia and, at the same time as they were wantonly peddling Bernstein's revisionism, they were saying that Marx's theories were "outdated theories" and "old tides of thought." They abused the Marxists, saying that they were "disciples of doctrinairism" and "adherents of orthodoxy," and said that the Marxists wanted to change the social democratic party into an association of "orthodox believers" and intended to persecute the "heretics" who turned their backs on "dogma" and had independent ideas. The spread of the revisionist ideological tide of the Second International was the most major challenge faced since the birth of Marxism. Lenin, who had been sent into exile, found ways to make a detailed study of the works of Bernstein and other people and held that the revolutionary Social Democratic Party members should engage in uncompromising struggle against revisionist Marxism and should unwaveringly defend the purity of the revolutionary theory. Lenin noted, "How much of a new contribution can these revisionists, gathered around Bernstein, who are making such a noise about 'renewing' Marxist theory, make to this theory? None at all. They have never promoted the science that Marx and Engels enjoined us to advance. They have never taught the proletariat any new methods of struggle. They have just retreated and propagated a theory that the proletariat should give way to its mortal enemies." Lenin further pointed out that we safeguard Marxist theory and oppose baseless attacks on it. However, "this does not mean that we are hostile to any criticism. We do not see Marxist theory as a sacred, unchanging, inviolate thing. Quite the contrary. We believe that it only lays the basis for a science and if the social party members do not want to lag behind practical life, they should push this science forward on all fronts."<sup>1</sup> Lenin also warned, in looking at the question of Marxism, if Marx's students make major mistakes, the mistakes lie completely with the students and certainly

cannot be ascribed to Marxism when its views are completely opposite. In 1913, on the eve of the high tide of the Russian revolution, the bourgeoisie showed extreme hatred for Marxism and slandered it as being a harmful sect. The Second International opportunists moaned that Marxism was outdated, while the Russian opportunists declared that Marxism was not suited to Russia's national conditions. Thus, Lenin wrote his famous articles "The Historical Fate of Marxist Theory" and "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," which again explained the correctness and great vigor of Marxism. Lenin scientifically predicted, "The new age which is coming will certainly result in Marxism achieving even greater victories!" Seen from the theoretical narrative in *Biography of Lenin*, Lenin's defense of Marxism was complete and these efforts ran through his revolutionary activities and theoretical activities of his entire life. In his 30-plus years of revolutionary life, Lenin not only defended the philosophical theory of Marxism in an overall way, but also defended Marx's economic theories, theories of the state, theories of political parties, and tactical ideas.

Lenin's most active defense of Marxism was his development of Marxism through his own practical activities, and his overall defense of Marxism was manifested in his overall development of Marxism. This is the idea which *Biography of Lenin* wants to put across. When analyzing Lenin's defense of Marxist theory, the authors do not simply detail how Lenin refuted, on the theoretical level, those persons who were attacking Marxism. Rather, they strive to reveal how Lenin, while criticizing his theoretical opponents and correctly expounding on the theoretical content and scientific principles of Marxism, developed Marx's theories, and thereby show how Lenin was far more of a force in defending Marxism than were some of the leftist theoreticians in the Second International. The authors look at Lenin's development of Marxism by seeing his ideas in the process of the development of Marxism. For example, when analyzing the new contributions of the book *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*, with respect to Marxist epistemology, the authors write that, in the history of philosophy, Engels was the first to put forward the scientific judgment that the question of the relationship between thought and being is the basic question of philosophy. However, Engels only explained the first aspect of the basic question of philosophy. That is, he only saw the question of whether the spiritual or the material was primary to be the major standard differentiating materialism and idealism, and he did not further consider as a standard the epistemological question of what reflects what. Lenin further elaborated Engels' exposition and noted that whether or not thought and spirit are considered to be reflections of matter to be the standard distinguishing materialism from idealism. The authors' dynamic examination of Lenin's development of Marxism is also manifested in their analysis of the development of Lenin's own thought. The authors have put quite a bit of effort into analyzing how Lenin made the transition from "wartime communism" ideology to

the New Economic Policy ideology. It is also worth noting that the authors daringly carry out a comparative analysis of the two major philosophical works, *Philosophical Notebooks* and *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*. They hold that *Philosophical Notebooks* is, in some theoretical respects, a major development of *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*. *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* further systematizes Marx's epistemology, while *Philosophical Notebooks* further strives to establish a scientific system of Marxist philosophy. *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* stresses the study of materialism, while *Philosophical Notebooks* stresses the study of dialectics, including the dialectics of cognition. *Philosophical Notebooks* further develops the partisan principle of philosophy put forward in *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* and shows the epistemological basis and class basis of idealism. In *Philosophical Notebooks*, Lenin puts forward new ideas on the relationship between natural science and philosophy. The putting forward of these ideas is an outstanding characteristic of this book.

Another important characteristic of *Biography of Lenin* is that the authors firmly oppose arbitrary distortion and censure of Lenin's ideas. However, they do not deny Lenin and the authors' original academic views are manifested in the appraisals which seek truth from facts. In the period of flooding bourgeois liberalization, Leninism has been subject to denunciation by some people. Nothing has been more subject to criticism than Lenin's ideas on the theory of reflection and on the system of centralism. Much of the censure and criticism of Lenin actually comes from Western Lenin studies ideas. Western "Lenin studies" censure Lenin's epistemology as a simple theory of the reflection of reality, saying that he considered thought to be the reflection of reality and claiming that this "is nothing more than a concealed form of ossified dualism," and claiming that there is no object without a subject and no "objective world" without people. They castigate Lenin's theory of reflection for "obscuring people's dynamism" and charge that it is a mechanistic "theory of photography." Thus, they set Lenin's epistemology in opposition to Marx's ideas and see Lenin's ideas as a regression from Marx's ideas. This is because Marx saw the target of cognition as humanized nature, dependent on human consciousness, and believed that consciousness is a product of practice, and not a reflection of matter. In response to these criticisms, the authors of *Biography of Lenin* hold that Lenin's theory of reflection is true, thoroughgoing materialist monism, and that, in the book *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, Lenin stresses opposition to idealism in epistemology and checking the general materialist principle that the mind and perceptual experience are reflections of the external world. He thus did not prominently stress the creative role of the mind. However, the historical situation of these ideas is certainly not a theoretical bias. Not only did the latter *Philosophical Notebooks* prominently stress the dynamic role of the mind, but even in *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* Lenin consciously differentiated between the theory of reflection which he upheld and the negative

directly perceived theory of reflection of old materialism. As for placing Lenin and Marx in opposition, this is purely artificial fabrication. Marx spoke of "humanized nature" and used the term "practical materialist" to describe himself. However, his aim was only to say that the real world is branded with man's practice and the subject and the object, man and reality mutually influence and mutually permeate each other through cognition and practice. However, he is not thus saying that the world does not objectively exist, or that it relies for existence on the consciousness of the subject. Regardless of whether we speak of the natural world or human society, humanized nature or nature which has not been humanized, their existence and development are independent of man's will. Marx did not deny that cognition is the reflection of objective things. Quite the opposite, he advocated reflecting objective things as they really are. The theory of reflection is rooted in the history of human epistemology, the history of practice, and the history of individual lives. Lenin's theory of reflection cannot be overturned.

The authors of *Biography of Lenin*, at the same time that they defend Lenin as a great Marxist, clearly point out that he was a man, not a god, because the lofty position of a god is empty. On the one hand, the authors completely analyze the new contributions to Marxist epistemology of Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* from the angles of the basic question of philosophy, standards of practice, the definition of matter, view of truth, and dialectics of cognition. At the same time, they point out the deficiencies in the theory of cognition which he expounded upon. For example, a major shortcoming was that Lenin did not specifically discuss the dialectical relationship between perceptual knowledge and rational knowledge and, in particular, did not expound on how perceptual knowledge is raised to rational knowledge. Thus, he was unable to fully criticize the empirio-criticism of the empiricist school of subjective idealism. This question was properly resolved only in the book *Philosophical Notebooks*. In brief, the authors stress that the appropriate scientific attitude is to grasp Lenin's thought in an overall way through a process.

Western "Lenin studies" holds that "in Lenin's view, the central committee can appropriate the power of the party organization and centralize it in itself, and thereby the entire party becomes just a passive tool." Thus, they hold that Lenin was not only an advocate of extreme centralism, but also an advocate of autocracy. In response to this irrational censure, *Biography of Lenin* factually analyzes the importance and necessity, under the historical conditions at that time where they were engaged in wresting political power and consolidating political power, for Lenin to stress the party's centralism and discipline. However, the centralism stressed by Lenin was not so-called extreme centralism, because he always held that all members of the party were equal. Although in the early period Lenin's system of centralism was not democratic centralism, in the later



period it clearly became a system of democratic centralism. The authors devote two sections to Lenin's ideas on democracy and ideas on opposing bureaucratism. The authors hold that there are too few and insufficiently concrete expositions in Lenin's relevant works on the question of developing democracy within the party. This is especially so of his party-building theories in the early period. Due to the situation at that time, he especially stressed the idea of centralism. After Lenin's death, Stalin took to extremes the method of opposing the activities of factions within the party and formed a system with a high degree of centralized power. However, we cannot on this basis hold that Lenin was an advocate of extreme centralism and autocracy.

The many ideas put forward in *Biography of Lenin* are both new and manifest the spirit of the authors in seeking truth from facts. For example, the authors write: "In the struggle against the economic faction, Lenin stressed the absolute necessity of opposing narrow pragmatism in looking at theoretical work. However, he overlooked the importance of opposing the doctrinaire trend in which theory was divorced from reality. Among Plekhanov and other people who were living abroad at that time, there existed serious doctrinarism, in which theory was divorced from reality. In many documents on inner party struggle, Lenin often considered different ideas and attitudes to indicate different factions. However, most of the differences of opinion within the party were just questions of understanding. It was inappropriate to sum up different understandings as factional struggle." In *Biography of Lenin*, the authors' historical appraisal of wartime communism and the New Economic Policy and the analysis of Lenin's ideas on the cooperative system further reflect their penetrating judgments, and compel admiration.

Of course, like many other successful works, *Biography of Lenin* also has some aspects that require improvement. For example, there is insufficient analysis of the materials relating to the process of the formation of Lenin's world view. The book stresses the key position and role of Lenin in the whole party, but does not stress how, in the overall process of leading the party and the state, he brought collective wisdom into play. I believe that this aspect should be fully described. Further, the book's description of Lenin's relationship with Rosa Luxemburg is too brief.

Still, the defects cannot obscure the quality of the work. *Biography of Lenin* is a good book and well worth reading.

#### Footnote

1. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 4, p. 161.

#### Foster a Public Adept at Distinguishing the Beautiful From the Ugly—On Wang Chaowen's New Book *Aesthetic Mentality*

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in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 90 pp 43-45

[Article by Deng Fuxing (6772 4395 2502) of the Institute of Fine Arts under the Chinese Academy of Art]

[Text] The recently published *Aesthetic Mentality* is a book about aesthetics written by Comrade Wang Chaowen [3769 2600 5113] at the invitation of the China Youth Publishing House. Citing a rich assortment of vivid examples as proof, the author states his original views on aesthetics in simple and interesting language. The book has been well received by the vast reading public, particularly by young readers. As the fruit of years of painstaking academic research by a contemporary master of aesthetics, this book has not only given new content to contemporary aesthetic theories but also shows the author's clear-cut academic temperament.

This book is another masterpiece on aesthetics following the publication of *On Aesthetics* by the same author. If we say that *On Aesthetics* sums up the author's previous aesthetic theories and concentrates on exploring the aesthetic relationship between the subject and the object, we can say that *Aesthetic Mentality* has the emphasis on studying the state of mind and mental activities of the aesthetic subject in aesthetic relations and has achieved further development and breakthroughs on the foundation of *On Aesthetics*. This 400,000-character book is divided into nine chapters. In the first few chapters, the author gives a rough outline of the position of the aesthetic subject in aesthetic relations and its interrelations with reality and art as aesthetic objects. In subsequent chapters, he systematically observes and explores, with focus and in detail, the subject's complicated yet subtle aesthetic mental activities, which are of universal significance in the aesthetic process.

The aesthetic relationship between man and reality is one of the four modes by which man understands the world. This is the "artistic" mode referred to by Marx. Man's aesthetic activities find concentrated expression in reflective aesthetic mental activities. Thus, the aesthetic mentality naturally becomes the focus of aesthetic studies. *Aesthetic Mentality* covers practically all aspects of aesthetic mentality and its entire process. His exposition unfolds step by step with aesthetic interests, imagination, experience, and exploration as clues and crucial links.

Interest is a new concept which Comrade Chaowen has introduced to aesthetics. Interest, preference, and avocation, which mean more or less the same thing, are considered by the author to be the feelings and attitude shown by the subject in aesthetic objects during aesthetic activities. Only healthy and noble preference can lead people to pass positive judgment on aesthetic pleasures. Hence, the author tells us that we should cultivate noble aesthetic preference and how we should go about it. The

author has chosen an aspect and angle never before used to explore the question of imagination. Illusion and misconception are important aspects of imagination. The author studies and explores the foundation and reasons behind these seemingly mysterious phenomena and fully affirms their creative value in aesthetic activities. Comrade Chaowen regards personal experience as the subjective condition for the subject to penetrate into the aesthetic objects and an important state of mind giving rise to delight. He maintains that personal experience is unlike observation and experimentation, which can find direct expression through the subject's visual and hearing organs, and is unlike comprehension and analysis, which can lead to rational knowledge, complete with an understanding of the whys and hows. Personal experience, according to the author, is a mental frame and function characterized by sensuality and emotions with which the subject grasps the object. Creation and appreciation both require repeated personal experience and the accumulation of aesthetic experience. Otherwise, one will not be able to deeply appreciate and grasp the inner beauty of objective things. Imagination is another new concept introduced by the author. Imagining is a kind of explorative knowledge in activities of sensing and knowing. It complements personal experience. On the one hand, the aesthetic object, with its richness and subtlety, or the hints and clues it provides, arouses imagination on the part of the aesthetic subject. On the other hand, imagination continuously discovers, explores, reinforces, and improves the aesthetic content of objective things through supposition, surmise, and comprehension.

A salient feature of *Aesthetic Mentality* is that the author has based the above-mentioned new aesthetic explorations on the observation and analysis of a host of artistic, natural, or realistic aesthetic phenomena. This is the consistent characteristic of Wang Chaowen's aesthetic thinking. Comrade Chaowen's aesthetics "face life." We can say that his aesthetic theories are studies of nature, society, and life from the angle of aesthetics, and the author practices what he preaches.

Comrade Chaowen's aesthetic theories are closely tied to the development of literature and art since the founding of New China. Moreover, the subjects of his study have deep roots in the soil of everyday reality. He holds that, although there are many intermediate factors, differences in personality, experience, and circumstances are the ultimate reasons for differences in aesthetic attitudes. He maintains that, like literary and art creation, theories of aesthetics, literature, and art should be the product of the theorist's personal understanding of life. His works not only touch on numerous literary and art works, but are full of examples taken from everyday life.

Whether in his analysis of aesthetic forms, his description of aesthetic mentality, or his probes into aesthetics, the author does not lose sight of the social content of art and life or show a tendency toward purely formalistic probes as in the case of certain artistic theories. Rather, he leaves no stone unturned in his effort to explore their

profound social significance. For instance, he cites Nanjing's Yuhuatai to prove his argument that in social history goodness and ugliness are embodied in objective reality and will affect the subject's impression of the characteristics of objective reality. Yuhuatai is famous for its beautiful and translucent multicolored pebbles. However, the Kuomintang reactionaries turned it into an execution ground where revolutionaries were slaughtered. This beautiful place name and its spiritual relationship with man thus underwent a change and the charm of the Yuhua pebbles seemed to have changed its nature because of this. The Dadu River and Loushan Pass, which were relatively unknown in the past, became images of the heroic and the beautiful after the Red Army's 25,000-li Long March.

We say that the characteristic feature of Wang Chaowen's aesthetic thinking, as embodied in *Aesthetic Mentality*, is "facing life" not only because it originates from life, but also because it is directed toward life. His aesthetics involve social practice. He passionately and sincerely fosters and praises artistic works "loved by the people" and noble aesthetic ideals, while opposing so-called "innovation" that conflicts with the needs of the masses and is, in fact, devoid of any new meaning. He is opposed to ugly things and vulgar tastes in life. In this book, the author gives his analysis and passes relevant judgment on many aspects, from appreciation of natural scenery to appreciation of popular literature, from the mental beauty of heroes to the demeanor of the general public; and from one's childhood memory to newspaper advertisements. For instance, the author holds that, where aesthetic interest is concerned, there is a distinction between the noble and the vulgar, the rich and the simple, the profound and the shallow, but notes that this is not something that everyone can correctly comprehend in their everyday life. "Some farces which pander to the masses, some phenomena which consider disgusting things interesting, and some things which cater to low tastes, that is, things that, because they have given up their own self-respect, show no respect for the masses, and annoying things that have appeared on the beautified stages, in the beautified cities, and in beautified fashion... show that this beautification means uglification." In real life, the ugly often manages to fool people under the guise of the beautiful. "Disguised beauty reflected in art can be found everywhere. In reality, the ugly is not readily distinguishable. There are even cases where ugly behavior, such as abusing one's power for personal gain, greed, and vanity, are admired and emulated as competence (and calling the person 'truly capable')."

Hence, the author maintains that fostering and improving the people's aesthetic appreciation is an important aspect of socialist spiritual development. "In addition to fostering and improving the people's keen perception and judgment of the beautiful and the ugly, it can also purify the soul and eliminate filth in the depths of the soul so that the soul becomes more in keeping with the objective. That is, so that people will have more noble interests and moral integrity."

The above-mentioned important features of Wang Chaowen's aesthetic thinking also determine the unique mode of expression employed in *Aesthetic Mentality*. In fact, these are also the special traits of the style of academic pursuit Wang Chaowen has developed over the years.

In the book, the author cites as examples a host of lively and interesting phenomena in addition to outstanding works of different artistic genres. Through concrete analysis of these examples, he either puts his unique views across or sums up the governing laws after analysis. His explanation of the profound in simple terms is easy to understand but this does not mean that the theories expounded are simple. Quite on the contrary, most of these are aesthetic judgments passed by the author on the basis of experience. Such an exposition is, in fact, a record of the author's aesthetic attitude, approach, and process in dealing with works of literature and art and various relevant phenomena in everyday life. With deep interest, he feels for and ponders over everything, from the behavior of his four-year-old granddaughter and the kitten he keeps at home, to works of literature and art, to movie programs and advertisements, and finds aesthetic meaning in the process. Thus, the reader finds his aesthetic judgment to be trustworthy and touching and much more readily acceptable, or of greater theoretical value, than conceptual inferences drawn from concepts or the mechanical copying and fabrication of theories in modern jargon which no one quite understands.

*Aesthetic Mentality* is written in simple, sincere, and interesting language, as if the author is just having a friendly chat with the reader. Particularly praiseworthy is the skillful and natural way in which the author blends quotable quotes from classical Chinese poetry; witty remarks from discourses on paintings, literature, and poetics; passages from foreign novels; descriptions of stage art; narratives of everyday events; and colloquial expositions. With the vast numbers of young readers in mind, the author abandons the dull and dry style of ordinary theoretical discourse and, in places, even adopts the storytelling and prose style. This kind of narrative, which helps establish a rapport with the reader, is unrestrained and interesting. Unwittingly, the reader is drawn into the domain and realm of aesthetics by the richness of its content and the liveliness of its form and finds enjoyment and benefits in the process. This style of writing and academic pursuit shows that, rather than merely passing a few ready-made aesthetic conclusions on to the reader, or even imposing these on others, Comrade Chaowen gives his readers initiative and freedom. He simply guides his readers to positively recognize, judge, and select what is beautiful in nature, society, and art, so that they can improve their ability to distinguish the beautiful from the ugly in the process.

Comrade Chaowen is a noted contemporary Chinese aesthete. With the basic tenets of Marxism as his guidance, and closely combining the status quo of China's new literature and art with the reality of social life, he

has established his own unique aesthetic system since the founding of New China. Due to actual needs and the needs of his work, Comrade Chaowen has kept a close watch over the status quo and developments of literary and art creation and theories. He promptly passes accurate judgment with his keen perception and personal experience, encourages the outstanding and criticizes the undesirable phenomena with a clear-cut attitude, and puts forward his own artistic ideas and views based on facts. His theories, which are closely integrated with reality, have a great impact on the creation of fine arts and literature in China within a historical period. In the new historical period, Comrade Chaowen has transferred and extended the scope and objective of his endeavors from the creation of artistic works "loved by the people" to "the fostering of a public adept at distinguishing the beautiful from the ugly." This is the characteristic of his aesthetics and an important reason why his aesthetic thinking can continuously develop and is full of life and vitality. The publication of an aesthetic treatise like *Aesthetic Mentality* is convincing proof of this.

#### Only the One Who Is Among the Masses Is the 'Real Servant of the People'

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[Article by Gao Yang (7559 2254)]

[Text] I believe that, to thoroughly implement the decision of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee "on strengthening the relationship between the party and the people," the ideological problem and actual difficulties of leadership cadres above the county level still need to be solved.

Compared with conditions before the founding of the republic, in relations between party cadres and the people at present, differences between the status of officials and people have gradually appeared and from this an estrangement in ideology has been generated. During the revolutionary war, our party and political cadres, including the leadership cadres, were the "people's servants," both in name and in reality. Since the founding of the republic and for a prolonged period of hidden conversion, quite a number of leadership cadres have considered themselves "officials" having control of the people in the new era; and the masses themselves have come to treat cadres who have by no means behaved as the "people's servants" as "officials" and as different from their own status of "ordinary people." As a result, in certain units, the "people's servants" have become "masters of the nation," and the "masters of the nation" could not but listen to the order: from the "servants" standing over their heads. This violation of the basic principle and system of socialism and the distortion of the relations between cadres and the masses that it generates has brought two results: 1) Although the party's good cadres may have wished to maintain and display the party's tradition of having intimate relation with the masses and strive to be close to the masses and



to make friends with them, the masses have merely respected them or have actually avoided them, or have become unwilling to be intimate or to make friends with them. And it is difficult to break through this estrangement. 2) Leadership cadres recently promoted to their posts have unconsciously learned an official air from certain of the original cadres. They have become contaminated by this official atmosphere and considered it quite natural to "stand away from the masses" and "ride over their heads," despite the fact that they were well aware of the slogan of "being the people's servants," and frequently talked about it. But in ideology they have actually come to believe that "acting as officials" was ipso facto "acting as the people's servants." Hence, in actual work, in order to break through this estrangement in the relations between the cadres and the populace, first of all it is necessary to break the ideology of "being officials" on the part of a considerable number of cadres.

There are many causes for this estrangement between the cadres and the masses. In a feudal society the customary rule is "officials are highly valued while the people are of no value; and in our new society the leadership cadres, not called officials but "people's servants," also possess certain "value" which, aside from controlling party and governmental affairs, consists of the manifestation of their social position being different from that of the common people. Naturally, it is reasonable that leadership cadres whose special functions are to do work for the people should enjoy, because of the requirements of their duties, different treatment in livelihood in certain aspects from that accorded to the common people in the same manner that military people, "carrying arms to protect the country," enjoy the privileges of wearing uniforms, eating public grain, living in public housing, and not engaging at all in ordinary production. All this is well understood by the populace. Nevertheless, strictly speaking, among our present leadership cadres at various levels, there is still special treatment that is legitimate but not rational, and this, plus certain special powers not openly stated in the regulations, has caused discontent among the populace and different kinds of comment from the masses. The masses have gone through over half a century's revolutionary education and have seen and witnessed the behavior of leadership cadres at the time of the revolutionary war and the early period of the founding of the republic. They feel that certain cadres now are unlike "people's servants" but like the "officials" in the past era of "officials being of value and the common people being valueless." This has thus confronted us with the following two choices: Either we allow this condition to continue and make our party be increasingly separate from the masses, which is hardly conceivable, or we carry out reform, make rational new regulations and abolish all the existing irrational treatment and other special power and privileges. Until the central authorities conducts investigations and makes concrete rules, this article cannot do any theorizing at the moment except to express its understanding and views on the problems of how the leadership cadres at various levels should build their ideology of being real

"people's servants" and how to find time to establish flesh-and-blood relationships with the masses.

In establishing relations with the masses, aside from reading documentary materials and listening to oral reports from cadres so as to gain an understanding of the masses' wishes and complaints and promptly settling problems that should and can be settled, leadership cadres must establish direct contact with certain people of the masses, and in the case of midlevel leadership cadres this kind of contact is even more necessary. The sporadic contacts of leadership cadres with colleagues of their own organizations, their friendly contacts with their relatives and friends, and their contacts with people who are completely unrelated to themselves, may in reality be divided into many levels. The desire to built and to increase direct contact with various people by the leadership cadres, under present work conditions, leadership method, and work style, would be difficult to do due to lack of "extra time." Precondition for increasing the contacts, therefore, is to squeeze out the necessary time for this. As for the method of finding the needed time, I wish to make the following points: 1) Avoiding participation in various kinds of meetings not connected with the work of their posts or, though connected, that do not require participation, as well as various kinds of celebrations, encouragement, commemorations, and such ordinary activities as sending off or welcoming people and guests. Since the founding of the republic, particularly since the Cultural Revolution, one of the manifestations of bureaucratism has been the attaching of importance to making enthusiastic displays and neglecting the concrete results of work. Certain kinds of activities have been publicly banned by the central authorities, but they have persisted despite the ban and continue to prosper. I believe that many of the various kinds of celebration and encouragement activities and sending-off and welcoming parties are vulgar practices and should be reformed. If leadership organizations at higher levels can, within the scope of their power and jurisdiction, strictly prescribe the banning of bad practices, then many important cadres can remove the worries of wasting time and neglecting work and at the same time save state financial expenditures. Before making such regulations, leadership cadres who are enthusiastic about the state's construction enterprises should duly consider the situation, display their attitude of opposition to the above-mentioned bad practices, or actually boycott them altogether. 2) Avoiding taking charge of or replacing the work of other departments or units or of other personnel in the same department or unit. One of the defects in our country's leadership and management work is the lack of a clearly defined division of work and of a responsibility system, or, when there is such a system and there are clear definitions of the division of work, they have not been followed or carried out. Although this practice of party committees at various levels taking charge of the administrative affairs of other committees at the same level is gradually being overcome, this practice is still continuing. With the division of work among the various administrative departments

not being clear, the phenomena of fighting for power or deliberate evasion of duties is widespread. This cuts the efficiency of work and at the same time wastes the energy of relevant personnel. If it is possible to establish and perfect the responsibility system of the leadership management departments, then the cadres, including leadership cadres, can gradually reduce the time spent on attending activities of a casual business nature and thus find time to contact the masses at various levels. 3) Displaying the spirit of hard toil. Leadership cadres should be untiring in fully utilizing spare time after the eight hours of office work to study and do other work, including making contact with the masses. Everybody should be conversant with the reasoning of the slogan "perfection of work comes from diligence and not from playing around." All those in good health, even after work, should not take the pretext of "part work and part rest" to idle away their time. At present, large meetings are frequently followed up by the staging of art and theatrical shows every evening. In my opinion this should be reformed; there should be fewer shows so that participants in the meetings can find time outside the meetings to make free contacts or to engage in other activities related to their work. Wouldn't this be better?

If leadership cadres do not break their bureaucratic ideology, then even though they have the time or can find time, it will be difficult for them, in their contact and intercourse with the masses, to set up a reciprocal spiritual relationship. For you to be communicative in ideology with other people, make other people feel that you are trustworthy and willing to talk heart-to-heart and speak the truth, under the conditions of the modern era, first of all you must treat each other as equals. If a person who talks with you discovers that you are a "top man" and higher than his class, he will be scared even when looking at you and not know what to say. Then there will be no hope of establishing spiritual liaison and making friends. At present, there are some leadership cadres who unconsciously behave arrogantly even when meeting their old schoolmates, former comrades-in-arms, and former subordinates and who appear to have their former feelings completely diluted. In this malignant atmosphere which has formed for a considerable length of time, certain young cadres, once gaining access to power and position, will at once show off even before those who only the day before played "shoulder to shoulder with them as brothers and pals." With these kinds of new and old cadres around, how is it possible to hope that they can form flesh-and-blood relationship with the populace? At present certain leadership cadres have purposely organized and consolidated their personnel relationship network connected with their own power and domination. This kind of network is built on the foundation of people using each other and, according to the party's principles, should be gradually weakened and subsequently abolished altogether. In contrast with this kind of network, a leadership cadre, outside the relations of work and from among his old comrades and subordinates as well as in various industries and trades of a national or local scope, including the ideological and

theoretical circles, scientific and technological circles, and cultural and literary circles, should have close and intimate friends who can disregard the differences in age, position in society, and cultural and technological attainments and who, despite one's official position and power, can talk with you unreservedly on world affairs and dare to criticize or even denounce you. The news and information supplied by these people and the kind of understanding they express are not only grossly different from those coming from people in the relationship network, but also can hardly be heard by a leadership cadre in his office or at meetings and conferences.

By the time the atmosphere has gradually changed and the leadership cadres, particularly leadership cadres close to the grassroots level, are willing to hear the people's views and have even begun to associate as friends with the populace, there naturally will be an increasing number of people who are anxious to seek them and to associate with them. This will then cause the rise of the problem of how to stop being passive and seek the initiative. In my opinion, to seek the initiative we must attach importance to the following points: 1) Make your selection. Regarding those whom you know have come for power and position or just for fun's sake, you may selectively see some of them, induce and prevail upon them, or even criticize them. As for the others, turn them over to the relevant persons for handling, thus saving time. 2) Firm insistence on the principle of serving the public. Do not form unproductive relationships or become the host of various activities because of one's desire to seek others' good will, or having to save one face, or being afraid of hurting other people's feelings. As to how to make distinctions during these circumstances, I am sure that the leading cadres already know how to, and the onlookers are also able to see it clearly. 3) Seek recommendations from friends you can trust and thus have the initiative to make new friends. An enterprising leadership cadre, when bravely progressing forward, should wish all the time to widen his circle of acquaintances and make more friends.

To carry out what is said above is fraught with many difficulties. However, under the current extraordinary situation both internally and externally, a real revolutionary should brush aside all difficulties and firmly insist on the struggle for recovering the traditional close and intimate relationship between the party and the populace. As for those who wholeheartedly look for power and benefit and only halfheartedly serve the people, I do hope that they will not fail the trust of the party and the state and that in their work and in their association with the people, they will show more of the spirit for the public and less of the wishes for private gain. In conclusion, I must declare that my words are not intended for those anxious for officialdom and power. "It would be a misdemeanor to have spoken to somebody to whom you should not have spoken," and "do not confer with people who go along different roads from you." However, it may well be estimated that the party and the people can tolerate no more what they have

pursued and done, and the days may be numbered for the continued existence of the situation of "letting others laugh and curse, but persisting in enjoying my high official position."

### Who Is To Be Emulated?

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[Article by Dai Feng (1486 1496)]

[Text] I am not a real soccer fan, but I take some interest in soccer matches. During the 14th World Cup, the Cameroonian team, standing in no fear of a formidable opponent, put the previous world champion to rout. Later, they defeated the Romanian team, one of the strongest in Europe, and the Colombian team, also one of the crack teams in Central America, thus becoming one of the eight strongest teams. Once the Cameroonian team staged one of the biggest upsets in World Cup history, there was a public outcry. Everybody was talking about its performance. Some people said the Cameroonian team owed its successes to money. "When a high reward is offered, brave fellows are bound to come forward!" But they were wrong. Joseph Fofe, Cameroon's youth and sports minister, said they carried out a fundamental principle: "Sportsmen are not encouraged to participate in contests for money or rewards" but rather for the honor of their motherland. Of the Cameroonian team's 22 members, 12 were amateur players and one was an unemployed worker. As they all cherished the lofty ideal of bringing credit to their motherland, and thought only of victory rather than rewards, they felt at ease and were in stable spirits. As a result, they could bring their skill into full play in every match.

"Money makes the mare go." This is a law universally applicable in the capitalist world. Few sports competitions are not related to "handsome rewards." Once one carries off the first prize, he will become a man of wealth. If one turns out to be a "boxing champion" or a "soccer star," he is invaluable. Lured by money, some people display their enthusiasm in an unthinkable way. For example, Johnson, a famous sprinter, took drugs in violation of the regulations; another racked his brains trying to do harm to other people; and others even risked their lives. In a world where the odor of money prevailed, it seemed unimaginable the Cameroonian team could tear themselves from temptation.

However, the Cameroonian team's performance is not difficult to understand. If someone, no matter who he is, tries to accomplish something, he should possess noble spirits rather than thinking only of material reward. Abraham Maslow, a famous psychologist, considered

man's material requirements as his low-level requirements. Great men at all times and in all countries "make light of fame and wealth" and set their sights high.

As communists who take upon themselves to emancipate all mankind and as revolutionaries under the party leadership, we should cherish lofty ideals. In the 1950's and 1960's we chanted a slogan: "Make high demands on oneself in work, but be satisfied with low living standards." Encouraged by the slogan, people "dashed forward where there were difficulties to overcome, drew back when honors were to be conferred, and learned from advanced elements and helped those who lagged behind, no matter who they were." During that period, not only models of the times like Lei Feng, Jiao Yulu, and Wang Tieren constantly emerged, but the party style and the general mood of society were so wonderful that foreigners who were hostile to China could not help but gasp in admiration. Regrettably, some people have apparently changed the places of the two characters "high" and "low" in the above slogan. Few people talked about emulating those who have a lofty realm of thought, work enthusiastically, and are professionally competent, and such a practice was also regarded as ridiculous. We should not underestimate the negative consequences of such a change in "values." It is understandable that some comrades are very worried when they talk about this. But is the situation out of hand? I do not think so. Where does the key lie?

The key lies in our determination to do our work properly. Everybody in the literary and art circles knows that many people seek fame and wealth: They charge 1,000 yuan for singing a song, or tens of thousands for playing a role. They create difficulties whenever they feel dissatisfied. This notwithstanding, as soon as literary and art workers get in touch with workers, peasants, and soldiers, there will be an immediate change in their thoughts and feelings. During the Spring Festival period this year, some literary and art workers joined with the delegation sent by the Ministry of Culture to convey greetings and appreciation to soldiers stationed in the Nansha Islands [Spratlys]. They were so inspired and encouraged by the fearlessness of hardship and devotion displayed by the soldiers that they were anxious to immediately present with respect all their art to the soldiers. The report made by the group called "Footprints of Hardworking People" has made a great impact on numerous people! Hsun-kwang [a contemporary of Mencius, known for his doctrine of man's natural wickedness] said, "If bitter fleabane grows among hemp, it will stand erect without support; if white sand mixes with black dyestuff, it will turn black." His word stands to reason.

In my view, as long as leading cadres set an example and party members take the lead in emulating advanced elements, the masses will follow suit. Once this is accomplished, the fine general mood of society can certainly be restored.



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